International Academics in English Higher Education:

Practising and Capturing Mobile Careers

This thesis is submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Academics, and the institutions which host them, are increasingly positioned as central components of national and regional innovation systems and as producers of skilled workers for the purported knowledge society. At the same time, globalising and internationalising discourses have constructed an image of highly skilled knowledge workers, including academics, as in demand and highly mobile. In academia, these trends have converged in the idea of a 'war for talent', in which institutions compete internationally to attract and retain the 'best' people. To some extent these notions extend already established understandings of academics as cosmopolitan and academic fields as transnational, yet their scale and instrumentalisation represents a distinct break from the past.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the empirical reality underlying these discourses through experiences and practices of non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education sector. Using original analysis of HESA data, it first describes recent trends and patterns in non-UK academic staffing in the English sector, and relates these trends to a qualitative analysis of the internationalisation policies of a broad sample of English institutions and other stakeholder organisations. Interviews with 23 non-UK citizen academics in two English higher education institutions explore the ways in which they understand, engage with and practice migration in their careers. It explores incentives and disincentives for migration, rationales for the directions and destinations of migratory flows, and the degree to which these non-UK citizen academics are represented in the imagined 'mobile academic' of policy and discourse. In addition, it explores the ways in which non-UK citizen academics in two universities contribute to the internationalisation of their institutions.

The study provides a rich understanding of the character and role of non-UK academics in the internationalisation of English higher education, and the ways in which their practices and experiences reflect broader trends, policy agendas and discourses. Outcomes of the study build on and contribute to existing literature and theory, and are relevant to policy makers at institutional and other policy scales.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

> As one of the world's most widely recognised universities for research we continually strive to reach new levels of excellence. In order to help us achieve this goal we are hoping to attract some of the world's most brilliant minds. Our search will cover the globe and will take nearly a year to complete. We aim to be a university where the most motivated postgraduate students and leading researchers choose to work and visit.
>
> (Professor Chris Higgins, Vice-Chancellor of Durham University)

Academics, and the higher education institutions which host them, are increasingly positioned as central components of national and regional innovation systems and as producers of skilled workers for the purported knowledge economy[1]. At the same time, globalising and internationalising discourses have constructed an image of highly-skilled knowledge workers, including academics, as in demand and highly mobile. In academia, these trends have converged in the idea of a 'war for talent', in which institutions compete internationally to attract and retain the 'best' people. To some extent these notions extend already established myths and realities of academics as cosmopolitans and academic fields as transnational, yet their scale and instrumentalisation arguably represents a distinct break from the past.

The central theme of this thesis concerns the place of the English higher education system in wider flows of these internationally mobile academics, the role of international mobility in the careers of non-UK citizen academics in England, and the contribution of that mobility to England's higher education institutions. The thesis considers the reasons for and the contexts in which non-UK citizen academics leave their home countries; how they enter the academic labour market in England; what factors affect their decisions to stay on in England, return to their home countries or go elsewhere; and ultimately the degree to which these processes contribute to the internationalisation of higher education in this country. This topic is investigated through the analysis, firstly, of statistical data on academic staff in the English higher education system and, secondly, of a set of qualitative interviews with a sample of non-UK citizen academics in two institutions in the north of England.[2]

This introductory chapter will firstly demonstrate the importance of the research field. It will then go on to clarify the specific objectives and research questions that this project has sought to answer. Thirdly, it will locate the research project within the key literature of the field and delineate its scope. Lastly, it will provide an overview of the thesis.

[1] The OECD has been a key exponent of these points of view (Frow 2009; OECD 2007, 2008b).

[2] Throughout this thesis, reference will be made to both 'England/English' and to 'the UK'. Despite the primary focus being on England rather than the UK, it is impossible to avoid this potentially confusing situation. There is an in-depth explanation of this issue and how I have addressed it on page 13.

The importance of the field and the research project

This thesis represents a timely intervention into a rapidly changing field of study which itself addresses a number of processes, policy agendas and discourses that are also fast evolving. At the core of the project lies a set of questions which address the role of non-citizen academics, and their mobility, in institutional, national and transnational contexts. The contexts for this phenomena are multiple and multi-scalar, and often overlapping. They include markets for education services and for highly skilled labour, innovation systems, and rankings of universities, which all operate at and beyond national scales. They also include global non-state actors such as the OECD, UNESCO, WTO and GATS, supranational policy spaces such as the European Union, as well as nation states. The importance of these actors and contexts is that they frame the 'war for talent' and, in the context of higher education, the competition for academics and researchers specifically.

Secondly, global hierarchies in higher education and research, and the locations of opportunities within them, influence geographies of academic mobility. These hierarchies are evident in the pull of the USA in general and its top institutions in particular, with some competition from a small number of elite institutions in the UK and elsewhere (Mahroum 1999a; Marginson 2008; Marginson & van der Wende 2007). Mobility is also regional (Welch 2008), with the Bologna Process and the right to free movement in the EHEA/ERA beginning to have parallels elsewhere in the world (Zgaga 2006). Linguistic, cultural and historical ties are also reflected in mobility patterns that point to the endurance of colonial and post-colonial routes (Kim 2009; Mahroum 2008).

Finally, the comparatively recent phenomena of education and innovation 'hubs', distributed around the globe, adds rather an unpredictable dimension to mobility, although these hubs are mostly found in the Middle East and Asia (Lane & Kinser 2011). Hubs can be states, regions or cities, special zones or single institutions which are strategically constructed to attract and create human capital and innovation in the name of development and competition. Hubs vary both in their spatial qualities (Lane & Kinser 2011) and in the variety of outputs they are designed to produce: for example students, talent or knowledge (Knight 2011), although in practice outputs may combine all of these and others. A common feature of these hubs is the importation of foreign universities, programmes and scholars. Some sites actively invest in research, often in specific fields such as the biosciences (Singapore) or science and technology more broadly (Saudi Arabia), thereby creating opportunities for academics to pursue their career interests. However, a recent survey of branch campuses – a common feature of higher education hubs – found that they experienced academic staff recruitment difficulties due, at least in part, to the lack of research opportunities (Becker 2009).

Importantly, this is a phenomena which, to the extent that it is observable, is emergent from the countless individual decisions and international moves made by academics and researchers. These international moves, between jobs and within jobs, contribute to the international profiles, networks and collaborations that shape careers. They are also shaped by opportunities available to individuals in countries of origin, including relationships and networks overseas, fields of practice and disciplines, and modes of disciplinary work. A key question that this generates, and which is at the heart of this thesis, is the relationships which exist between the international mobility of academics in their work and careers, and the particular regional, national or institutional places which function as both destinations and nodes in networks and flows. Approaching an answer to this question would increase understanding of both academic careers and the extent to which policy interventions at different territorial and institutional scales might be able to affect flows, and with what outcomes.

Unlike previous research, which is outlined in the following chapter, and in brief below, the present study finds its distinct focus in several ways. Firstly, it considers internationally mobile academics from a whole life perspective. In other words, it does not just focus on their professional careers, but considers other aspects contributing to, inhibiting or shaping their mobility; for example family and partners. Secondly, it extends our understanding of this area of research by focusing on less central and less prestigious institutions than those which have previously been studied. In general, UK-centred research in this area has focused on a limited and prestigious segment of the research-orientated higher education sector and, in doing so, has had a geographical frame of reference limited to London and the South East. Thirdly, the study explores the role of a variety of sending country contexts in generating flows of academics into the English higher education sector. Ultimately it explores the role of 'place' as a central concern in this field of research.

The objectives and research questions

This thesis is an exploration of the practices and experiences of a sample of internationally mobile non-UK citizen academics in two institutions of the English higher education sector. It sets out first to investigate the professional and personal considerations which affect the mobility and location decisions of this group; and secondly to identify the types and extent of their contribution to the cultures and practices of internationalisation in their respective institutions. A third aim is to contribute to the understanding of the place of the English higher education system in circuits of international academic staff mobility and in the field of international higher education more broadly.

These aims can be articulated as three broad questions, which are as follows:

1. *How do non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education system practise mobility (internationally and inter-institutionally)?*
2. *How do non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education system experience mobility?*
3. *What can these practices and experiences tell us about the English sector (and specific locations and institutions) in an international context?*[3]

Scope of the research project

The research project analysed a five-year data set from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) on academic staffing in England, which included a wide range of variables such as nationality, age, discipline, institution and so on. The interview data analysis was based on 23 interviews with academics at two institutions in the north of England: one post-1992 teaching-intensive institution and one Russell Group research-intensive institution. The interviewees came from a wide variety of disciplines across the natural and social sciences and the humanities, including applied fields. They also represented a range of career and life stages, and personal and family situations.

There are two main limitations of the research that should be acknowledged. Firstly, as an in-depth, qualitative study, the degree to which the findings can be generalised is obviously circumscribed. This is certainly case regarding the insights into the role of international mobility in academic careers, and perhaps less so to the extent that interviewee's reports offer insights into larger scale structural phenomena. The second limitation concerns the consideration of the concept and role of place in mobility practices. Although this idea was prominent in the initial research questions, certain aspects of it were not carried through in the main research process. This was partly due to the lack of focus given to this notion by the interviewees in the pilot study, but more importantly, it became apparent that it would be difficult to continue to preserve the anonymity of the institutions and the interviewees if too great a focus was given to this concept.

Contribution

The outcomes of this study add to the understanding of internationalisation and mobility in academic careers in five core ways. Firstly, it finds that English higher education (and a limited number of institutions) occupies a prominent place in international networks and flows of academics at both regional and global scales. Secondly, the attractions of England to internationally mobile academics are many and varied, and include a perception of meritocracy, reputation, infrastructure

[3] These top level questions lead to a number of sub-questions which are presented on page 58.

and the possibility of undertaking high quality work. However, it is the existence of a large number and variety of study and labour market opportunities which ultimately enable inward mobility of non-citizen scholars. Thirdly, just as the international field of higher education labour markets is differentiated by differential degrees of reputation and numbers of opportunities, so it is the case within the English sector.

A third way in which the study contributes is to identify the ways in which the relationship between mobility, immobility and place is negotiated by academics at different times and in different ways across the career and life course. In locating mobility practices in a whole life and career context, it problematises assumptions of academics as primarily footloose, career oriented, rational choosers moving through an internationalised higher education space. Fourthly, in these negotiations academics acquire and deploy capital strategically to facilitate mobility or immobility, and access to or security in particular places. In short, thinking about mobile academics only as 'talent' obscures the full range of backgrounds, practices, experiences and motivations of those who move.

A fifth contribution of the study is to identify ways in which non-UK citizen academics advance the internationalisation of their UK institutions and the country more generally, and the factors that limit or enable this. The study finds that the interview participants' international orientations and activities varied greatly, and could not be assumed. Moreover, it finds that, to the extent that academic careers and the field of higher education itself provide a very internationalised context, more work of a qualitative nature needs to be done to compare the practices of citizen and non-citizen populations, particularly those outside the 'Golden Triangle' institutions of London and Oxbridge.

Ultimately, in its focus on location decisions, the study highlights the limits and possibilities for policy interventions in constructing higher education places at institutional or other scales. On the one hand, mobility decisions and directions emerged as driven and shaped by many factors, including opportunities and conditions in home countries, and existing networks of mentors, colleagues or friends. On the other hand, there was little evidence of explicit place- or institution-specific factors influencing destination choices in strong ways. This finding points to the importance of looking beyond a small group of elite, highly-reputed and highly magnetic institutions in London and the South to understand international mobility.

A clarification of key terms

Throughout this thesis a number of key terms are used. It is worth clarifying at this point how I intend them to be understood. The first clarification concerns the use of the terms 'England' and

'the UK' to refer to the territorial scale of the analysis. Setting the analysis at this administrative level in the context of the UK makes good sense; however, it is not unproblematic and it is important from a methodological point of view to be clear about the ways in which various terms will be used throughout. The decision to focus on England rather than the UK more widely, or a city or regional level more specifically, was based on a number of factors. For one thing, there are sufficient differences in higher education across the four nations of the UK to warrant the distinction. These differences are evident in the application of policy, the collection of data (and much analysis), sector size (numbers of institutions and students), cultures, languages, international profiles and, in Scotland's case, also legal and funding arrangements. Therefore the terms 'England' and 'English' are used throughout when the subject is the higher education system or, specifically, the secondary data set analysed in chapter four.

However, there are many other places when the term 'the UK' is used. This reflects the scale at which border crossings (in a legal sense), visas and citizenship must be understood. Moreover, in spite of the differences in higher education across the four nations of the UK, it makes sense to speak of a single academic labour market, incorporating them all, through which respondents could potentially (if not in practice) move. It is also the case that the distinction between England and the UK is somewhat blurry when placed in a global or transnational context. For example, it is unusual to speak of the place of 'England' in the global field of higher education, though not 'the UK'. Respondents who spoke of the proximity of their English locations to other European or global reference points tended to (though not always) refer to the UK. The term 'the UK' is therefore used when it is clear from the context that this is the appropriate scale. For example, it is indicated by interviewees' comments or it is the unit of analysis of literature or other secondary analysis that is being cited.

A final complicating factor is that local and institutional scales emerged as prominent in many comments. Urban and other small-scale territorial sites have their own historical, cultural and lifestyle characteristics, which are reflected in reputations that transcend England or the UK. International academics' lives are also practised and grounded locally and institutionally to the extent that the distinction between 'England' and 'the UK' is in some cases unimportant. It is easy to see this effect in terms of a world city such as London, but it was evident also when some of the interviewees spoke of the reasons that attracted them – not to the UK or England – but to particular cities or institutions, and the localised attachments they developed whilst there.

It is important therefore to recognise implications of different scales as matters of fact and perception. Perceptions in particular are individual, idiosyncratic and shifting, a fact that is reflected in the frequent slippage between the scales referred to in interviews. To some degree this affects

the generalisability of any conclusions that might be drawn. As will be seen, though, there is a concern with place and professional and personal/social locatedness in this thesis which has taken this into account.

The second term which needs to be clarified is 'academic staff'. In the context of this thesis this refers to people employed in universities and other higher education institutions for the purposes of teaching and/or research. Of course, higher education institutions are not the only organisations carrying out research or tertiary-level teaching. For instance, research is widely distributed across sectors, in some disciplines more than others and in some countries more than others. Indeed, some researchers may spend their entire careers outside the higher education sector, and there is a rich literature on research careers, researcher mobility and research systems which does not necessarily cover the higher education sector. The purpose of framing the research here in terms of academic staff is that it locates the subjects in distinct institutional and career contexts which both bound the study and lend it a degree of policy relevance.

A third term is 'academic mobility'. This is often understood in terms of mobile students, in particular of undergraduates and taught post-graduates, and often in terms of markets for international students (Lasanowski 2009; OECD 2013; Teichler et al. 2011). Here it refers to the international mobility of academic staff (that is, as defined elsewhere, those engaged in teaching and/or research in higher education institutions). Its coverage includes doctoral candidates and researchers and therefore it overlaps somewhat with work on student and researcher mobility (Ackers et al. 2008; IDEA Consult 2010).

Finally,[4] it is worth commenting on the notion of a 'war for talent', which has been used several times in the previous pages. This is a concept that emerged from research carried out by McKinsey Consulting (Michaels et al. 2001) and became popular initially in the field of business and management studies. As originally understood, 'talent' referred to the part of a company's workforce that is exceptionally skilled and adaptable, and lends it a competitive advantage. The idea has spread well beyond its original field and a belief in the benefits of capturing the mobile highly skilled has become popular amongst policy makers concerned with competition and development at various territorial scales (OECD 2008a) and even entered the rhetoric of higher education in the UK and beyond (Universities UK 2007; Wildavsky 2010).

The idea of a competition for mobile 'talent' has purchase within academia (for example, Florida 2002, 2007), though it has not been uncritically received elsewhere (Brown & Tannock 2009). The position I have taken is to avoid the term 'talent on the grounds that it tends to be deployed

[4] The related notion of 'brain drain' and similar terms is discussed in the literature review (p. 25).

normatively and that its rhetorical force obscures important issues of access, opportunity and privilege.

The outline of the thesis

The first three chapters of the thesis consist of this introduction, the literature review (chapter two), and the methodology (chapter three). Chapter four explores contemporary patterns of academics' mobility into the English higher education system over a period of five years. It draws on original analysis of HESA data to map the situation in some detail, specifically in terms of institutional differences – mapped on to histories, prestige and national geographies, and the characteristics of the non-UK citizen academics themselves. The data reveals interesting patterns of the mobility of international staff into and between English higher education institutions, and the nationality profiles of academics entering the sector from abroad (including UK citizens).

Chapters five to nine are based on qualitative interviews with 23 non-UK citizen academics at two English higher education institutions, and aim to provide a rich understanding of how they make sense of and practice their careers and mobility, with particular reference to the contexts outlined in part two. Chapter five and chapter six explore the factors which lead non-UK citizen academics to undertake migrations in the course of their careers, and the notion of place and place magnetism in their geographical and institutional location decisions. Chapter five explores the nature of academic careers in interviewees' home countries, including issues of closed labour markets, expectations of mobility, funding and so on. It also looks at the personal considerations which enable or constrain mobility. Chapter six interrogates the perceived advantages of particular places over others, both in national and institutional terms. It puts professional considerations in the context of other more personal factors such as relationships and emotional attachments.

Chapters seven and eight investigate the degrees to which academics 're-embed' in their new context and/or remain open to further instances of mobility. Chapter seven looks at not only the professional contexts but also the personal, and the ways in which each can anchor an individual in one or more places (and across borders) through international networks and relationships which remain active and productive. Chapter eight explores the ways in which non-UK citizen academics think about – or rule out – possible future international mobility with regard to the professional and personal considerations which inform it. It addresses geographic mobility as a necessary corollary of upward career mobility for international academics, and the place of particular institutional and national sites in hierarchies of prestige. Finally, it looks at the ways in which further mobility might lead to a third country or back home; and whether it amounts to, from the perspectives of the

academics themselves, another stage of a career journey practiced across borders or, on the other hand, an unwelcome, burdensome and disruptive necessity.

Chapter nine explores the ways in which international academics understand their place in their institutions and in England. The central question of this chapter is 'what value do international academics bring to their host institutions and systems?' The chapter interrogates the 'internationality' of non-UK academics and the varied ways in which this is acknowledged (by the subjects and others), ignored, or exploited. It explores the extent to which non-UK academics represent qualities, practices or connections which are valorised or not by their peers, students, departments or institutions.

Chapter ten concludes the thesis. It sums up and discusses the key findings, relates new insights to the existing literature and theory and suggests further avenues of research, and makes a case for policy relevance with a discussion of implications and recommendations. It consists of a single chapter: the conclusion.

Chapter 2. Literature review

The field of internationalised higher education is expansive, growing, diverse and, indeed, diversifying. It would be all but impossible to list every physical and virtual way that discourses, ideas, policies, institutions, programmes and people have become internationally mobile, or to unpick the real and discursive motivations, processes and outcomes that are part of the varied internationalisation higher education landscape. This will address just one element of the multi-faceted internationalisation of higher education: the international mobility of academic staff; and one context, that of the English higher education system. The relationships between this micro-level unit of analysis and the mesa- and macro-level structures, contexts, practices and experiences are many and varied yet each perspective offers unique insights.

The scope and diversity of the subject matter is reflected in the literature, or rather *literatures*, which explore it empirically and theoretically. I will discuss these issues and their implications in detail in the next chapter on methodology, though it is worth summarising them here. In short, I draw upon literature from several fields which are themselves broadly inter- or multi-disciplinary (such as human geography and sociology); or which are loosely aggregated by an interest in specific topics (for example higher education, migration and mobility, science and technology, or management studies).[5] The literature therefore is representative of many different theoretical and methodological approaches and traditions which cannot all be explored in detail. In the review which follows an attempt has been made to ground the research in a body of work drawn mainly from higher education studies and human geography. At the same time, the inductive approach to the research and analysis incorporated ongoing reading as emerging themes led back to other sources.

Due to this recursive relationship between the literature and the research a methodological decision was made to embed the literature in the analysis and discussion where it was relevant and productive to do so. This review is therefore a fairly broad and descriptive account of a wide range of themes in research and theory which frame the study, the purpose of which is two-fold. Firstly, it maps the territory which will be explored in the empirical work to come. In doing so it identifies the key themes and questions that have concerned researchers and theorists to date. Secondly, it identifies gaps in the literature where questions have been unexplored or under-explored and in doing so it points to the original contribution that this project makes to the field.

[5] Of course, there is much overlap and diversity in these fields, which provide an interesting insight into the ways in which they are organised in disciplinary departments or professional schools.

In the introduction (chapter one) the key themes and sets of questions of this project were outlined. The fundamental concern is with the role of mobility in both locating the English higher education sector in cross-border flows of academics and its role in the careers and lives of non-UK citizen academics in England. From this concern, a second theme, that of the significance of place, is implied and explored. On the one hand, questions of place revolve around the way in which places and the relationships between them constitute the structures through which mobility occurs. Thinking in terms of place also raises issues of scale and what it means in an era of mobility. Finally, thinking in terms of place begs questions about the qualities of specific locations which make them sites or nodes in mobility systems.

On the other hand, explorations of mobility in academic work and careers demand the identification of the types of mobility practised by academics in the course of their work and which are largely if not exclusively work related. To trouble the idea that internationally mobile academics are rational and unencumbered in their mobilities it is necessary to explore the relationships between the professional and personal dimensions of mobility. Questioning how mobility decisions are made and mobility itself experienced in professional and personal contexts adds another dimension to the literature which, in turn, reveals the importance of looking into the motivations and incentives, and the obstacles and enablers that inform mobility.

However, whilst it is analytically convenient and even intuitive to disentangle place and mobility in this way, to assume a dichotomous relationship between the two would be a mistake. As will be seen, theorists have argued for a mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and place, and mobility and immobility, with the materialities and processes of particular sites both being constructed by the movement of people and resources into and through them; and the qualities of those sites in turn exerting pressure on the quality and quantity of those mobilities. Elsewhere, literatures on transnationalism and economic geography, among others, emphasise the connectivity of places of various scale which are globally distributed. Such connectivity can take the form of flows of things, capital, communications or people; or it can take the form of collective 'imaginaries' often informed by the cultural and linguistic geographies of historical and contemporary geopolitics.

Filling in the gaps

Whilst, as will be shown in what follows, some of these themes are well explored in the literature, it is nevertheless evident that gaps exist which this project addresses. These shortcomings include that little work has explicitly grounded the international mobility of academic staff in their institutional contexts, and where it has there has been a focus on elite and geographically central institutions.

Mobility of academics is both implicitly and explicitly included in much work on mobility of researchers and scientists, particularly in terms of the European Union and the USA; however, again this work tends not to take institutional contexts into account; neither does it interrogate place beyond large-scale national or sub/supra-national regions.

Where work on academic mobility is located in institutions it is dominated by questions of policy on international students and markets, although this is not entirely irrelevant due to the flow-through of international students into research studentships and early career academic positions. Work on place tends to focus on place magnetism and capturing strategies either in research and innovation or intra-urban competition more generally. In addition, literatures on both mobility and place have tended to a concern with elites – as either people or sites such as world cities or highly reputed institutions – at the expense of the exploration of more broadly representative populations and places. The focus on the role of mobility in academic work has also eclipsed the far more common practices of *immobility*. Finally, literature has tended to focus on the professional dimensions of mobility at the expense of personal dimensions, or vice versa.

All these points will become apparent in the literature review which follows. The review is organised in four sections. The first section explores the empirical and theoretical dimensions of globalisation as both the structural context of international mobility and as something constituted by it. It also maps out in broad terms and through the work of key theorists the ways in which contemporary worldwide processes are breaking down and reconstructing what places do, how they are understood and how they are connected.

The second and third sections of the review look at the literatures on mobility and place more specifically. The second section explores how mobility has emerged as a key concern in sociology and geography, specifically the ways in which mobility as an empirically observable phenomenon has been theorised. The third section addresses questions of place, its role in contemporary economic thought, the identity and character of place, the relationship between place and scale and the relationship between places in circuits of mobility. These two sections will conclude with an exploration of the ways in which theorists have managed the tensions between mobility and place and tended to favour one over the other, with particular reference to transnationalism.

The fourth section of this review goes in depth into the literature on higher education, framed by the discussions of globalisation, mobility and place, in order to foreground the empirical and theoretical work on international mobility in academic careers and the role of key sites of various scale at which academic place can be identified. It explores the ways in which higher education institutions and their communities have been instrumentalised and put to work for the knowledge economy, and the

role of mobilities of various kinds in these developments. Again, the tensions between places as the sites at which careers are practiced and the strategic role of mobility between places in academic work and careers will be explored through the literature. In particular it reviews the ways in which the literature has understood and investigated the factors that motivate, enable, inhibit or prevent mobility; the nature of the mobility decision-making process; and the factors that shape the directions and timing of mobility.

Globalisation

Globalisation is a powerful empirical and discursive phenomenon. It gives context to the ways in which higher education institutions and national systems, academic connections and landscapes, and scholarly mobilities of all kinds are being reshaped, reimagined and redeployed. At the same time it is, in part, a product of all these actors and phenomena. Thinking globally therefore foregrounds the tensions between structure and agency, between mobility and immobility, and between mobility and place. Globalisation is more than simply the context which locates this thesis or the largest scale at which analysis can take place, and interrogating globalisation is not the purpose of the project. However, by briefly surveying the literature on globalisation a broad understanding of some of the empirical trends and theoretical positions which frame contemporary manifestations of mobility and place can be attained. In turn, this will inform the specific explorations of the role of mobility and place in higher education and academic careers to come.

There are any number of general overviews of globalisation, for example those of David Held (*et al*.) (2004; 1999), or Malcolm Waters (2001), and there are also multiple and often conflicting definitions. Held *et al*.'s (1999) definition will suffice here. They suggest that globalisation is:

> *...a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions…generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power* (1999, p. 16, original emphasis).

The authors also develop a typology of positions based on three broad schools of thought: the first is that of the 'Hyperglobalists' (for example, Ohmae 1994), who argue that globalisation represents 'a new era in which peoples everywhere are increasingly subject to the disciplines of the global marketplace' (Held et al. 1999, p. 2). Sceptics (such as Hirst & Thompson 1999), on the other hand, argue that globalisation is 'essentially a myth which conceals the reality of an international economy increasingly segmented into three major regional blocs in which national governments remain very powerful' (Held et al. 1999, p. 2). Somewhere between these positions are the transformationalists (such as Giddens 1990), who question the hyperglobalists' thesis, yet acknowledge that 'states and

societies across the globe are experiencing a process of profound change as they try to adapt to a more interconnected but highly uncertain world' (Held et al. 1999, p. 2).

Central to much early work was the observation that the relationship between distant places was being fundamentally changed as transport and communications developments transformed the nature of proximity. This was theorised by geographer David Harvey in terms of a post-modern space-time compression (Harvey 1989) and by sociologist Anthony Giddens in terms of modernity as time-space distantiation (Giddens 1990). This sense that once distant communities now engage in social and cultural activity facilitated and informed by various 'scapes' that constitute shared transnational perspectives was articulated by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1990). The degree to which these new forms of interaction and proximity lead to homogenisation or fragmentation have also been explored, notably in Benjamin Barber's rather pessimistic 'McWorld versus Jihad' thesis (1992) and Samuel Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' (1996).

Elsewhere, work has identified the impacts of globalisation on individuals and social organisation. Sociologist Zygmunt Bauman sees modern life as 'liquid', in other words highly mobile and in constant flux (Bauman 2002). Attendant to this liquidity is an increasing atomisation of societies into their constituent human parts (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002), particularly in terms of the individualisation of risk and responsibility (Beck 1992). A radical reorientation of the sociological project which places mobility at the centre of the methodological frame has been evident over the last decade or so, with a focus on the ways in which mobility and its technologies are implicated in contemporary forms of social exclusion and privilege (Sheller & Urry 2006).

Economic perspectives have emphasised the new economic geographies of transnational organisations, flows of capital and cross-border production networks (Dicken 2007); and the ways in which global mobility of the factors of economic success, including human resources, create threats and opportunities for specific places (Florida 1995, 2007; Porter 1998). Deeply implicated in this and other dimensions of globalisation is the idea and reality of the knowledge economy (Drucker 1969; Leadbeater 2000; Quah 1998; Reich 1991) and a broader neoliberal project (Harvey 2007; Scholte 2005) although, as Olssen and Peters (2005) point out, the manifestations of these phenomena are not uniform across national contexts. For Mittelman (2004) globalisation intersects with the ideas of both the knowledge economy and neoliberalism; for him, globalisation is 'a dominant ideology that joins with neoliberalism to extol the virtues of individualism, efficiency, competition, and minimal state intervention in the economy' (p. 5).

Particularly in the economic spheres, and in spite of the purported withering away of the state brought about by globalisation (Castells 2000), national governments as well as intergovernmental

and non-governmental international organisations such as the World Bank, the OECD and the European Union have played an important role in the transmission of new economic models (Stiglitz 2002). In fact, for some, including Holton, the purported 'withering away of the state' is little more than a 'myth' (Holton 1997). It has been argued that discourses of globalisation enable states to evade responsibility for their policies (Wiseman 1998), which are increasingly formed at scales smaller and larger than the nation-state Moreover, a growing literature on borders has reasserted the power of the nation as 'container' of social practices, identities and mobilities (Diener & Hagen 2009; Shamir 2005).

Human mobility is a dimension of globalisation that is especially relevant to this thesis. Globalisation has changed not just the composition, degree and directions of cross-border mobility, but also the reception of migrants and state policies for dealing with them. As the developed world increasingly welcomes some migrants whilst criminalising others, sending states struggle to find strategies to address the loss of skilled human capital and capitalise on diasporas, remittances and return flows (Cerna 2007, 2010; Kapur & McHale 2005; Meyer 2003; OECD 2001b). Locating the sites at which these social and economic differences are particularly intense has led to a literature that explores not only national but city and regional scales (Sassen 2001; Saxenian 2005).

An important feature of the globalisation debate, and to this thesis, is the work on transnationalism (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc 1994; Jackson, Crang & Dwyer 2004; Vertovec 2001, 2003). This literature explores migratory, social, cultural and economic activity which disrupts or bypasses nation-state control, and the connectivities which enable these activities to be practised across borders and distances. Theories of transnationalism thus unite the twin themes of place and mobility in personal, social and professional lives that are at the centre of this research. In placing academics socially, it is possibly tempting to see them as having more in common with elites (such as Sklair's (2000) 'capitalist class') than less privileged populations who are often seen in terms of a country of origin or shared ethnicity. Even for the financial sector elite, however, mobility is not 'frictionless'; it is in fact tied very much to the families, careers and places which shape, enable or inhibit movement (Willis, Yeoh & Fakhri 2002). Perhaps the most important contribution of the field of transnationalism to studies of mobile or territorially dispersed populations is the disruption of nation-state centred approaches, or 'methodological nationalism' (Glick Schiller 2007; Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002).

The position taken here is similar to that of Martell (2007) who, in a recent re-evaluation of Held *et al*.'s (1999) typology, argued that the points put forward by the transformationalists tend to support the sceptics. Specifically, the many different processes and practices (in economic, political, social and cultural life) which constitute what is understood as globalization are fragmented in terms of the

scales and territories at which they operate, and core states, often working through international organisations, are able to influence globalisation to their advantage. Elsewhere, the same author (Martell 2008) explores the British experience of globalisation. For one thing, Britain is both subject and agent in primarily economically-led globalising processes, which are present in different and even conflicting ways (homogenizing *and* differentiating) at different levels. It is better, therefore, to see it in terms of 'glocalisation' (Hay & Marsh 2000), a concept which attends to the ways in which global processes are transformed as they become grounded in local contexts.

Mobility: empirical and theoretical observations

Mobility is a central element of empirical and theoretical perspectives of the globalised modern world. Key themes from the literature include empirical observations on the increasing diversity of people, things and ideas that make up flows across borders; an increasing quantity of flows; and an increasing diversity in the origins and destinations of flows. Any number of straightforward observations confirm the growing significance – both quantitative and qualitative – of cross-border mobilities of all types with an increasingly diverse set of origins and destinations (Castles & Miller 2009). The literature explores, for example, the specific mobility practices of professional elites (Beaverstock 2002; Faulconbridge et al. 2009) or lifestyle migrants (Clarke 2005; Croucher 2012; Favell 2008a; HSBC 2009b; O'Reilly 2000), the highly skilled (OECD 2001a, 2001b, 2008a) or researchers and scientists (Ackers & Gill 2008; Mahroum 2000a). Flows can be and are disaggregated into types in various ways, even within sub-types (Iredale 2001; King 2002; Salt 1997).

Until recently, noticeably absent in the study of mobile populations were privileged non-elites; the highly skilled who are not politically contentious and tend to be 'middle class, well-paid and "invisible"' (Salt 1997, p. 4). To a good degree this omission is being rectified through work on 'middling transnationalism' (see below) and self-initiated expatriation (SIE). A recent overview of management literature on self-initiated expatriates defined then as 'internationally mobile individuals, who have moved through their own agency (rather than through an organizationally-assigned expatriation) to another country for an indeterminable duration' (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry 2013, p. 79). They constitute a broad group, with a mix of motives and sub-motives in a range of categories of SIEs in the literature (Doherty 2013).

In a conceptual piece elsewhere, Doherty and Richardson (2013) place SIEs at the mid-point of a continuum of mobility from company-directed short-term/flexipatriate mobility to self- or family-directed migration, according to a set of eight criteria: initiation (self), goals (individual), funding (private), focus (career/adventure), career impetus (planned), intended duration (non-permanent),

employment (regular), occupational category (any). Unlike other types of expatriates, SIEs are self-funded, plan and execute their mobility outside corporate or other formal organisational structures, and have both personal and career goals. Of course, the variety of experiences of mobile academics means that not all will fit conveniently into this category and it should be recognised that non-permanent student mobility can lead to more permanent migration in many cases. Moreover, there can be a career dimension to Overseas Experience (OE) type of mobility which can be a significant driver for academics. A typology of academic staff mobility devised by Cradden (2007) recognises the potential for permanent migration in forms of mobility in which an academic 'retains no institutional anchoring in his or her home higher education system, there is no guarantee that s/he will return to it' (p. 33).

The distinction between mobility and migration which emerges from Doherty and Richardson's (2013) typology is a theme long evident in work from the field of migration. This can be linked to the increasingly sophisticated ways in which data and theories on human flows point to the inadequacy of the model of migration as a single, permanent move (King 2002). Instead, mobility can be conceived of as, for example, temporary or circular (Vertovec 2007), partial (Golynker 2006) or chain (Kuznetsov & Sabel 2008). In the context of skilled migration, research has explored concerns that the out migration of highly trained human resources represents a net loss to a sending country and a corresponding gain to a receiving one. This early human capitalist conception of 'brain drain' originated in the UK in the 1960s amidst fears that the loss of scientists to the US would damage the national research base, though its application is far more widespread than this and perhaps more urgent in less developed countries (Cervantes & Guellec 2002; Kapur & McHale 2005; Docquier & Rapoport 2011). Subsequently, the concept of brain drain has evolved to account for more nuanced interactions between mobility and place-based development and competition.

For example, geographies of mobility might represent a straightforward loss-gain from one region to another, or a 'brain circulation' of intra-regional or transnational mobility (Straubhaar 2000; Jöns 2009; Lee & Kim 2009). Others have explored the factors that contribute to or inhibit the utilisation of mobile human capital (Williams & Baláz 2005) or found evidence of a 'brain waste', that is, the failure of skilled migrants to make full use of their skills (Williams & Baláz 2005). Closely associated with the literature on highly skilled migration and human capital is work which explores the possibilities of drawing on diasporic populations, for example through networks, for the purposes of development (Meyer 2001; Wickramasekara (2006). It is not clear, however, that diasporic communities are an easily accessible developmental resource, or that they can be exploited unproblematically (Harvey, 2008).

The relevance of these debates on brain drain, skilled and return migration, and diasporas to this thesis is in the resonance they have with current discourses of the 'war for talent' reported above and also an overlapping interest in particular populations. Much of the work on highly skilled mobility, for example, concerns researchers, and scientists in particular (Ackers 2005b; Marimon, Lietaert, & Grigolo 2009), whilst elsewhere explicit reference is made to academics (Kim 2010), students (Gribble 2008), or the effect on higher education systems (Bray & Kwo 2003; Shumba & Mawere 2012).

A good deal of literature on migration focuses on the practices of the migrants themselves, exploring the factors that inform mobility decisions and timing, shape the character and direction of flows, and enable or inhibit them. One common approach tends to be large-scale and quantitative, grounded in economistic theories of migration (Hadler 2006; OECD 2002); another is qualitative and explores the lived experiences of the migrants themselves (Ackers & Gill 2008). An extension of this thread addresses the impacts of migrants of various types on innovation and receiving labour markets (European Migration Network 2011; Leadbeater 2008; OECD 2001a; Somerville & Sumption 2009).

In a distinct strand of the literature, mobility is theorised as a form of capital. In various articles, for example, Vincent Kaufmann has explored the role of mobility capital, or 'motility' (Flamm & Kaufmann 2006; Kaufmann, Bergman & Joye 2004; Kaufmann & Widmer 2006). Findlay *et al.* (2011) speak of the 'trampoline' quality of mobility for elites as they move between schools and workplaces across borders – linking to the idea of certain places as 'escalators' that is explored below. Yet mobility is not simply a question of upward mobility, it can in some cases be necessary if an individual is to avoid the social demotion of staying in place (Lück, Limmer & Bonß 2006).

If access to opportunities for mobility both indicates and confers privilege, the counterpoint is the way *immobility* might be seen to indicate and produce exclusion. Thus Larsen *et al.* (2006) note the 'stranded mobility' of those in low-income areas, often single mothers whose isolation is compounded by the absence of virtual mobilities technologies such as the internet. In studies of migration, too, mobility has been understood as just one of a number of strategies of dealing with social position and access to resources, whilst mobility itself is often shaped by national rather than cross-border flows (Malmberg 1997). An important factor in thinking about the relationship between mobility, immobility and capital is the place of an individual or family/social unity on a continuum of forced to voluntary at any point in time at which migration is either desirable or possible.

A counterpoint to the relationship between mobility and social advancement is the fact that exclusion from geographical mobility opportunities works against the already disadvantaged (Mau 2010). Modes of exclusion are related to class, ethnicity and gender (Cresswell & Uteng 2008). In

studies of research and academic careers in particular there are clear indications that an 'expectation of mobility' informs assumptions about the relationship between mobility and excellence (Ackers 2008; Ackers & Gill 2008; Mahroum 1999b; Morano-Foadi 2005), whilst the highly skilled in general are increasingly valorised in national discourses and policy.

Mobility and cross-border connectivity also lead to the emergence of new perceptions of self (King & Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Papatsiba 2006; Rizvi 2000), subsequent mobility behaviour (de Grip, Fouarge & Sauermann 2009), and relationships with place (Cuba & Hummon 1993; Easthope 2009). Those who leave may believe that their mobility confers upon them a distinction in the labour market (Favell 2008a), or that it speaks to a quality of their character that sets them apart from those who stay behind (Pajo 2008; Richardson & McKenna 2002).

Place: empirical and theoretical observations

This section takes into account recent observations that place has been neglected or under theorised in analyses of mobilities and migration (Samers 2010), although the nature of place has been a consistent interest of geographers throughout the history of the discipline and from multiple philosophical and political perspectives (see Cresswell 2004 for an historical-theoretical overview). Implicit in theories of mobility is the significance of key sites that mobile things and people move through and between, or congregate in; these could be hubs or nodes (Crang 2002), 'moorings' (Hannam, Sheller & Urry 2006), 'centres of calculation' (Latour 1987) or any number of other metaphors. Importantly, the place-bound nature of universities is emphasised even as they become internationalised (Scott 1998).

Important to this thesis are the ways in which place and the tensions inherent therein have been explored. As well as tensions between place as both professional and personal/social, and of having properties that are both external-structural and personal-affective, it looks at places as sites of outward mobility. In what ways, in other words, do particular sites exhibit qualities that lead to emigration? Such qualities could include a lack of social, cultural or economic opportunities or a straightforward exclusion from those opportunities which do exist. There may be, in particular places, cultures of emigration and established networks of family, friends or agents which act as gateways to mobility circuits (Faist 1997). A country, region or locale may be relatively poor compared to the real or imagined conditions elsewhere, which may share historical cultural, linguistic or other ties – or simply be geographically close and/or accessible. To counter the risk of overstating the influence of place on out-migration it must be emphasised that locational factors can, in all but a minority of forced migration cases, only encourage, facilitate or enable mobility.

In exploring places as destinations the question can only be to ask why place X appears to attract more inward mobility than place Y. To what extent can place exhibit a magnetism, and what is the quality of that magnetism? There is a good deal of literature on this from across disciplines. Economic geographers (and policy makers) have seen places as key sites of agglomeration in competitive economic activity (Dicken 2007; Olds 2007; Sassen 2001) or, indeed, as centres of knowledge and innovation (Mahroum 1999b; Taylor, Hoyler & Evans 2008). Economic activity creates opportunities for labour migrants at all levels of the labour force, which can be further encouraged through strategic migration and visa regimes (as evidenced in particular by world city and targeted sectoral 'hub' strategies). A recent innovation is the development of a research strand on place branding and development, which explores the ways in which local policy and marketing can work together to transform places at local scales (Lucarelli & Berg 2011).

Opportunities are not always purely economic, they can be related to professional satisfaction or building career capital through association with reputable institutions and places (Mahroum 2000b). In fact, empirical research into the experiences of expats in several host countries reveals that the high cost of living in the UK can be genuinely problematic for long-term financial planning (HSBC 2009a). In terms of building a career, particularly for the highly skilled, some places function as 'escalator' sites (Conradson & Latham 2005a; Fielding 1992; Findlay et al. 2009). Mahroum has written of the 'Matthew Effect' (cf Merton 1968) of highly reputed laboratories in the 'Golden Triangle' of London and Oxbridge, in which the prestige of star scientists gilds the reputations of host institutions, whilst the reputation of institutions also creates capital for those associated with them (Mahroum 1999b). Further research has suggested that elite sites form a network within which elite scientists are exchanged (Trippl 2011), and from which those originating in less well regarded places are excluded (Roebken 2007).

Places, in short, have identity, and the nature of this identity is a form of capital (Anholt 2009; Beebe et al. 2012; Hague & Jenkins 2004). Whilst certain characteristics, such as size, history, and geographical location bestow a relative advantage of some places over others, the character of place is dynamic and contested (Massey 1991). This mutability is what is at stake when policy makers deploy discourses of place-based development and competition to which the production and attraction of human resources via higher education is usually central. By changing the constellation of factors that constitute the character of a place, it is argued that its place in hierarchies of opportunity and reputation can be manipulated and the mobile highly skilled will come to think of it as more magnetic than its competitors (Ewers 2007; Frow 2009).

At the same time, places also have an affective quality. People are attracted to places because of what they imagine them to be – at least this is true of more privileged migrants. For instance, social

and cultural opportunities play a part in choosing a destination, particularly amongst the highly skilled (Florida 2004). Having migrated to a place, people stay because they become embedded in the economic, social and cultural environments that they find there.[6] Through experience and over time, people make sense and give meaning to the places in which they live (as explored in the work of humanist geographers such as Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; and Entrikin & Tepple 2006). More than this, through attachment to place individual identities are altered (Hernández et al. 2007), although multiple affiliations can be maintained across a life course (Cuba & Hummon 1993; Gustafson 2009).

An important assumption of this thesis is that the qualities of place discussed here are evident at multiple scales, and also that scale is an important feature of place. The purpose here is not to recapitulate the ongoing debates in human geography about the meaning of scale (see, for example, Brenner 2001; Marston, Jones & Woodward 2005; Moore 2008); rather it is to suggest that place is where 'things happen' and, depending on what is being observed, the best scale at which to undertake analysis may vary from institutional to global. The optimum scale for exploring supra-territorial, worldwide, cross-border human flows is global; for assessing the reputational capital of a workplace it will be intuitional. Scale here is not necessarily synonymous with 'container'; contemporary connectivity and mobilities puncture such conceptions (if they were ever valid), and even places bounded and enforced by legal and administrative force – such as institutions or nation-states – are permeable and relational; both these elements – the container and the relational – are important to analysis (Weiss 2005). Neither is it assumed that places of different scales are neatly nested or adjacent. Scale here only refers broadly to the territorial or institutional site at which a set of processes or activities that are subject to investigation converge and/or are enacted.

Bringing mobility and place together: a Transnational Perspective

There is a lot of utility in adopting a transnational perspective in order to highlight the links between places that are geographically distant; and to explore the movements of people, ideas and things that constitute systemic connections and flows between them. Mooney and Evans (2007) suggest that transnationalism is at the core of much work on globalisation, even if it is not explicitly named as such – for instance in work on networks, flows and connectivity. An important contribution of studies on transnationalism from across disciplines is, as with mobilities work, the move away from 'methodological nationalism' (Glick Schiller 2007; Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002) and towards alternative frames of reference, for example that of 'methodological cosmopolitanism' (Beck &

[6] A human resources literature explores the issue of workplace embedding and turnover and, importantly, recognises not only professional factors but also wider personal and social contexts and engagements (Holtom, Mitchell & Lee 2006; Knight & Leimer 2010; Mitchell et al. 2001).

Sznaider 2006), transnational social fields (Gargano 2009; Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004) or networks (Featherstone, Phillips & Waters 2007).

Work on migrant transnationalism has often been focused on ethnic or national community migrations, for example in terms of the networks and mobilities that sustain communities across national boundaries, and the political and ideological possibilities that are generated (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc 1994). As noted above, there has also been work on more privileged modes of travel through professional circuits (Beaverstock 2002; Willis, Yeoh & Fakhri 2002) or even of an emergent 'transnational ruling class' (Robinson & Harris 2000; Sklair 2000).[7] For this thesis, a significant theoretical strand is that of 'middling transnationalism' (Smith 2005), often a form of middle class expatriation unsupported by ethnic or professional networks (Inkson & Myers 2003; Suutari & Brewster 2000). Whilst this type of mobility has tended to be cast as career oriented, Scott (2006) has argued for a much more sophisticated evaluation of motives.

Transnational perspectives also point to the ways in which migration can be shaped by systemic relationships between nations or sub-national spaces. These systems perspectives can be generally applicable to flows of all types between two sites (Fawcett 1989; Kritz, Lim & Zlotnik 1992), or to the relationships between different national labour markets in particular (Samers 2010). In the following section the degree to which academic careers take place within cross-border regional or global labour markets will be explored (Marginson & van der Wende 2007; Musselin 2004; Probst & Goastellec 2013). The important thing is that these relationships, whilst not immutable, are made up of flows and processes which have some degree of stability.

Other dimensions of transnationalism explored in the literature include the growth in modes of supranational regulation and policy (Brenner, Peck & Theodore 2010) and of inter-state or non-state organisations (Nye & Keohane 1971; Scholte 2005). In the governance of transnational activity from an organisational perspective the role of neoliberalism, as it is in globalisation, is identified (Haas 1992).

Internationalisation, higher education and mobile academic careers

Defining internationalisation was a core issue in embarking on this research. The central problem is that internationalisation is understood in different if overlapping ways depending on the background of a researcher, research questions, and the intended impact of the research. Knight (2003, 2006; 1995), for example, has worked on internationalisation from within the field of higher education,

[7] An interesting intersection between this work and that of higher education studies is found in the argument that World Bank funding of higher education in developing countries has in effect been channelled to the transnational capitalist class (Tomusk 2002).

and higher education management and policy more specifically. Her definition of internationalisation is widely accepted, though as can be seen, she has little to say about the mobility of staff (however it is implicit *to some extent* in the internationalisation of teaching and curricula):

> Internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education (Knight 2003)

Any understanding of the internationalisation of higher education needs to recognise that it is largely a response to globalisation, in particular its economic features, and that higher education institutions are both subjects and agents of its processes (Scott 1998). Most universities, wherever they may be, now include some mention of internationalisation in their mission statements, though the specific content and the degree to which they are well-developed or embedded varies a great deal (European University Association 2013; Koutsantoni 2006). A focus on the institutional level strategies and leadership in the growth of internationalisation is a feature of a related strand of literature (Huisman & van der Wende 2004; Maringe & Foskett 2010).

Stromquist (2007), with reference to institutions in the USA, distinguishes between 'internationalism' and 'internationalisation'. The former, she suggests, is a principled, cultural and pedagogical vision, whereas the latter is basically a knee-jerk market response. Of course, in most cases, both of these features play a part, but Haigh (2008) notes the tensions between the different dimensions, and particularly the difficulties of sustaining a commitment to the ethical in the context of the market. This pedagogic and cultural dimension, specifically the way it can transform and be exploited by receiving institutions, is a common theme: the presence of ever greater numbers of international students and, to a lesser extent, staff is commonly explored as a form of 'internationalisation at home' (Hyland et al. 2008; Jones & Brown 2007; Robson 2011).

Student mobility has been a major focus of the literature and is implicit in the work on internationalisation at home. On the one hand there have been surveys of student numbers, trends and patterns at global and regional scales, often linked to market or policy factors (Hijden 2012; OECD 2012; Teichler, Ferencz & Wächter 2011). On the other hand, a rich strand has explored the motivations and impacts of mobility on students, institutions and systems (Brooks & Waters 2011; Crosier, Purser & Smidt 2007; King, Findlay & Ahrens 2010; Papatsiba 2006; Teichler & Janson 2007). Lately, and reflecting trends in the internationalised market-oriented functions of higher education, research has turned to the investigation of off-shore activities of exporting institutions and countries (Lane, Brown & Pearcey 2004; Mok 2011; Naidoo 2009).

The degree to which the internationalisation of universities and the internationalisation of human resources within them intersect is less understood, but research suggests that it is not a priority (Adams et al. 2005). For example, the European University Association (2013) found that, of 183 responses from 175 intuitions in 38 countries, only 42% reported that their institutional strategy had led to the recruitment of more international staff and researchers, and a recent UK study reported that the recruitment of staff was not a priority for all but a minority of institutions (Raimo 2013). Nevertheless, and in spite of the absence of formal policy, it is an increasing concern of institutions globally (Dowds 2010) and in the UK in particular (Archer 2005; Nivesjö, Winzer & Brassell 2011; Taylor 2004; Universities and Colleges Employers Association 2008). In fact, more and more public references to global recruitment strategies are being made by individual institutions (Curran 2012; Durham University 2012; Queen's University Belfast 2012), though it is likely that pronouncements of international recruitment drives are tied up at least partly in branding strategies aimed at both UK and overseas markets.

Where institutionally focused research on internationalisation has concerned academic staffing it has tended to focus on issues of cultural or pedagogical adjustment experienced by non-native incoming academics (Luxon & Peelo 2009; Pherali 2011; Theobald 2008). Other work has, conversely, addressed the contributions that non-native staff make to internationalisation at an institution (Koo & Pang 2011; O'Hara 2009) or the role of staff in the internationalisation process (Turner & Robson 2007). Interestingly, analysis of two studies of the Changing Academic Profession (1992 and 2007) has found a decreasing engagement with internationalisation by younger staff in research institutions in developed countries (Postiglione & Altbach 2013).Taking a wider scale than the institution as its focus, an emerging literature has explored the development of cross-border labour markets for academics (Bauder 2012; Musselin 2004). Goastellec and Pekari (2013) have identified three dimensions of internationalisation *vis*-à-*vis* staff: internationalisation of the academic labour force in national contexts; international mobility across academic careers; and international activity within academic work.

Studies of research and innovation systems, which overlap with the higher education literature at the level of doctoral education, have explored internationalisation in terms of the cross-border travel of skills and ideas between core sites (territorial and institutional) of innovation (Mahroum 1999b; Saxenian 2005). In these studies the focus is often not exclusively on academics but the highly skilled more generally. A greater focus on the practices of mobile researchers and academics is evident in the field of science and research careers. Here, internationalisation has been explored from the perspective of the role of mobility in development, but also on careers (Ackers 2010; Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008; Ducatel et al. 2001; Gill 2005). In the UK perhaps more than other

countries the research sector is located in higher education institutions and it makes sense to explore the role of the internationalisation of the higher education sector in terms of both mobility and cross-border collaborations. That there is a link between international mobility and international collaboration (and also, under some circumstances, productivity and quality) is suggested in number of studies (Adams 2013; BIS 2011); that international academics can also facilitate the internationalisation of their colleagues is another finding of the most recent CAP survey (Locke & Bennion 2010 use the term 'armchair internationalisation' to describe this phenomenon).

The origins of international activity and flows in higher education (and education more generally) are explored by a number of authors (Humfrey 2012; Knight & de Wit 1995). Mobility for example is dated to the origins of the universities themselves, and traced through to contemporary forms (Welch 2008). Key features at various times and in various places include the mobility of scholars and students. Scholarly mobility was a central feature of early higher education (De Ridder-Symoens 1996a), and later as universities were co-opted to state agendas mobility was key to knowledge transfer and the development of emerging systems as diverse as those of Italy, the USA and Japan. At the same time, colonial subjects lobbied for and won the right to establish their own universities based on metropolitan models (Gopinathan 1989; Ng 1984) or, alternatively, had those models imposed on them (Altbach 1989). In the case of the British Empire, links between intuitions at home and throughout the colonies came to constitute a more or less coherent system, an academic space, within which academics moved (Pietsch 2010b). The interwar period was marked by displacement and migration of academics from the German-speaking world and their dispersal through the UK and the USA (Fleming & Bailyn 1969), whilst post-war international activity has moved 'from aid to trade' (for Australia see Smart & Ang 1993), and more recently towards a government-supported export industry model (British Council n.d.). In fact, the history of higher education suggests that there has always existed a tension between its international and its national dimensions, although some consider the claims of internationality somewhat overblown and even a myth (Scott 1998).

Higher education as an industry, a field of practice, and subject of research extends across borders in multiple ways: for example, institutions compete for students, resources, academics and reputation globally. The most powerful manifestation of this trend has been the emergence of an industry in ranking institutions on a global scale, explored in a rich body of work (see, for example, Arimoto 2011; Harvey 2008; Hazelkorn 2011; Marginson 2007b; Tapper & Filippakou 2009). In spite of any number of well documented issues with these ranking systems or even ranking in general, their influence appears to be growing. One of the phenomena which rankings contribute to is the emergence of new, global governance regimes. Drawing on the work of Foucault, Sidhu (2006) identifies rankings as one of the calculative technologies that steer higher education institutions

(although she is speaking of top-down governance her point is equally valid in the context of the distributed governance of market-driven rankings). As well as revealing and contributing to the global scrutiny of institutional reputations, some rankings explicitly identify internationalisation as a proxy for quality. The Times Higher Education Rankings, for example award 7.5% of an institution's overall score based on a count of international students, staff and research activities (Times Higher Education 2012). Nevertheless, the link between internationalisation and rankings remains relatively underexplored, particularly the mechanisms through which the metric of international staffing makes its way into institutional policy and practice.

A further manifestation of globalising and internationalising trends has been the emergence of explicit state strategies to develop 'world class universities' (Altbach & Salmi 2011; Salmi 2009). The phenomena of world class universities reflects both the historical role of universities as state-building institutions, and a more modern function as an aspect of national prestige (which amounts to much the same thing). At an institutional level, however, it is very much an extension of the logic of ranking systems (Deem, Mok & Lucas 2008). In both cases, of rankings and world class university strategies, assumptions of the mobility of resources (human and other) and the ability of institutions to capture and exploit them are at work (Salmi 2012).

Further, and returning to the theme of governance, a significant literature addressed the ways in which the increasing global referencing of higher education and policy transfer (King 2010b) is leading to tensions between homogenisation and diversification (Marginson 2008), often linking this to trends associated with neoliberalism (Collins 2009), academic capitalism (Marginson 2004) or theories of new public management (Deem 2001; Schapper & Mayson 2005). Again, this policy context has been argued to constitute a transnational field (Lingard, Rawolle & Taylor 2005).

Mapping flows of students, academics and collaborations across borders shows clearly the influence of economic and cultural power in shaping destinations. This can be seen in the case of both students (Chen & Barnett 2000; McMahon 1992) and academic staff (Marginson & van der Wende 2007; Welch 2005; Welch & Zhen 2008). The character of specific institutional, national and sub-national spaces can therefore be seen to be significant shapers of flows, with the USA exerting the greatest magnetism and a small number of institutions, mostly US, doing the same. However, complicating these flows is the fact that different disciplines and fields have their own specific geographies (Ackers & Gill 2005). An interesting point emerging here is the role relationship between student mobility and the presence of non-citizen staff in an academic system. Internationals students may complete their entire tertiary education up to and including PhD in the host system, at which point they enter the academic workforce. The degree to which these

academics should or could be considered local or international (i.e. in terms of their perspectives, approaches, networks and so on) remains relatively unexplored.

Regarding flows and the ways on which universities attract, anchor and exploit as well as attract human capital, a theme in the literature (particularly from economic geography) looks at the role of universities in development and competition strategies at the scale of city, region, nation or larger. This ties in explicitly in many accounts with the knowledge economy and theories of knowledge creation emerging from higher education and innovations studies (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff 2001; Gibbons et al. 1994). One phenomenon that has attracted attention is the emergence of spatial metaphors such as 'hubs' to articulate the place-orientations of these education-based strategies (Knight 2011; Mok 2008; Olds & Robertson 2008; Sidhu, Ho & Yeoh 2010).

Universities are therefore units of analysis in research into place-based development at various scales (Frow 2009; OECD 2007; Universities UK 2011), the largest of which is supranational. The Bologna Process and the Lisbon Agenda in Europe have attracted a good deal of attention for the ways they are restructuring higher education across the continent (de Wit 2006) and beyond (Mok 2011; Zgaga 2006). The literature here is rich and varied, reflecting the significance of the processes at work and their multiple and varied causes and consequences. One strand of interest here is that of the mobility of researchers and students across Europe – a 'fifth freedom' (Marimon, Lietaert & Grigolo 2009) – and the implications thereof (Krstić 2012; Sin 2012).

Not just mobility but other types of cross-border inter-university interaction are relevant and subject to research. Of particular interest here is the relationship between mobility and productivity (Dubois, Rochet & Schlenker 2010; Lee & Bozeman 2005) and geographies of collaboration (Mattsson et al. 2008; Smeby & Trondal 2005). In terms of specific labour markets, i.e. the UK, a rich thread explores the internationalisation of the academic labour force in terms of origins and disciplines (Ackers & Gill 2005; Mahroum 1999c; Metcalf et al. 2005; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010).

The motivation, enablers and obstacles to mobility in academic careers are a feature of the literature. For example, as noted earlier, academics from certain countries are dislodged through lack of access to positions at home or lack of opportunities; whilst the expectation of mobility adds to the incentive to leave. Again, there are perceived penalties associated with immobility, whilst mobility itself is associated with the symbolic capital of key departments and institutions, or access to networks. Escalator sites can push a career forward whilst other sites – including institutions – can inhibit further mobility or access to opportunities. However, this thesis takes a whole-life perspective on mobility and therefore goes beyond narrowly drawn professional considerations. For

example, a feature not always brought out in the literature is that mobility is not purely or always a professional activity. Research into the careers of self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) has begun to problematise the assumption that the accumulation of career capital by SIEs is based on the 'unfettered agency of individuals to pursue a career strategy, develop their competencies and accumulate career capital within the context of a global career' (Rodriguez & Scurry 2013, p. 13). In fact, this is neither straightforward nor universally true. For example, career capital accumulation must be understood in the context of opportunities for engagement and development in particular professional and social contexts.

The question of who is mobile and what impacts mobility has leads to explorations of privilege and access (Findlay et al. 2011; Waters 2012) and how it contributes to the development of transnational elites (Waters 2007) or ongoing and enhanced privileges in academic and other labour markets (Doherty & Dickmann 2009; Findlay et al. 2006; Kim 2010; King et al. 2011; King & Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Leung 2013). At the same time, family and other social relationships may inform or even shape migration decisions both in terms of timing and destination (Ackers 2004; Cox 2008; Richardson 2004), with particular impacts according to gender (Ackers et al. 2009; Cooke 2007; Leemann 2010; Scheibelhofer 2008). Once in place, these relationships may be instrumental in dictating patterns of mobility or immobility – of anchoring and embedding or of further mobility.

It was noted above that the scholars have recognised that the distinction between migration and mobility is more complex than a matter of duration of stay. It was also noted that time spent in particular places can lead to various forms of attachment and embedding. The propensity for doctoral candidates to stay on after graduation in their host countries should also be noted (Gaule 2011; Gupta, Nerad & Cerny 2003; Kim, Bankart & Isdell 2011; National Science Foundation 2012). Given what is known, then, it is surprising that the degree to which non-citizen academics have been 'localised' through their experiences as undergraduates and postgraduates in the host country by the time they enter the workforce are rarely accounted for in the literature.

A note on 'capital'

The term 'capital' has been used on a number of occasions in the preceding review, yet it is a somewhat slippery concept and how it is intended to be understood in this thesis should be clarified. One way in which the concept is understood is as 'human capital' (an idea with a long history, though popularly understood in the terms outlined by Becker 2002). This perspective sees people in terms of the individual and collective economic value of their skills and competencies, and is implicit in the debates on competition and development, innovation, 'talent wars' and the brain drain

reported here. Occupying an important place in human capital theory is education, which is seen as an investment made in the light of rational calculations of profit and loss, both by individuals and states (Becker 1993). Economic perspectives on capital are reflected in the notion of 'social capital' (see Lin 1999 for a brief overview), though it is a much broader concept than this. Theorists of social capital, for example, place human knowledge and skills in the context of social networks (Coleman 1988), and view those networks as a resource in themselves (Granovetter 1973). Moreover, as a resource, social networks have also been argued to be important features of community and democratic life (Putnam 1995).

The literature on capital as summarised above is vast and complex beyond the scope of this thesis. More important here is Bourdieu's notion of capital, broadly divisible into three types, as:

> … economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu 1986, p. 47).

Bourdieu supplements this definition with the notion of 'symbolic capital', which is an overarching concept incorporating cultural, linguistic, reputational and other forms of capital (Moore 2008). Cultural and other forms of symbolic capital are acquired over time at great cost and effort; they are recognised as having certain types of value in different contexts and communities (or 'fields', in Bourdieu's lexicon); and, importantly, their true nature is concealed – they 'deny and suppress their instrumentalism by proclaiming themselves to be disinterested and of intrinsic worth' (Moore 2008, p. 103). This in turn leads to 'misrecognition', or the mistaken assumption that the wealth, status or success of a person is attributable to, for example, innate talent rather than long-term and significant investment of resources.

In this thesis capital is understood, depending on the context, in its economic sense as the skills and competencies traded by individuals in labour markets and which are valorised by institutions, businesses and policy makers. However, it is also, and more generally, understood in Bourdieu's sense as the assets acquired and exchanged by individuals in the course of their careers and their mobilities. These assets might include associations with places or institutions or credentials acquired in those places, the professional networks of useful contacts and collaborators or even the fact of mobility itself. The possession of different forms of capital as understood here enables access to other resources and opportunities, including mobility or immobility; a deficit on the other hand limits the range of possibilities available.

As noted elsewhere in this review, the concept of capital – particularly in its social or cultural/symbolic forms – has provided a rich analytical frame for exploring migration and mobility, as well as education, and academic and research careers. The relationship between mobility (at the transnational scale in particular) and cultural and social capital has informed the understanding of the mobility and career practices of the subjects of the study presented in this thesis.

Conclusion

This review of the contexts and features of the multiple research literatures on the international mobility of academics has been wide ranging. It suggests that the various modes of cross-border mobility, places of origin and individual stories call for a broad analysis of motivations, enablers, obstacles and so on in academic mobility which, in fact, go beyond professional circumstances to account for personal and other factors. Whilst the relationship between place and mobility has been theorised in the human geography literature, there remains scope in (particularly ethnographic) work on academic staff and researcher mobility to explicitly account for it. As will be outlined in the following chapter, this thesis aims to contribute to this project. It explores the role of place at different territorial as well as institutional scales in terms of its impact on mobility practices and experiences in academic careers and, in doing so, also contributes to the understanding of English higher education in circuits of international academic career mobility. It extends the literature on researcher mobility into more broadly defined and more institutionally anchored academic career contexts, and identifies the ways in which place and mobility are negotiated across the career and life course. Finally, it looks at the ways in which mobile academics (as opposed to researchers) impact on their institutions in terms of internationalisation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This thesis, like any research project, is the product of a process characterised by shifting and emerging empirical and theoretical parameters with, at its core, a small set of questions which have provided continuity, structure, and the departure points for the research decisions that were made. In this chapter I will present the 'story' of the research, although in making sense of it in this way I am conscious of three key risks which are attendant to hindsight: the first is of implying a coherence and linearity to the narrative which was not the case in reality; related to this is a second risk of exaggerating my own insight and agency in making decisions at any point; and the third is the risk of circularity, in other words of seeing the results in my questions or retro-fitting the questions to my results. In fact, as I will show, the process was shaped in sometimes unexpected ways as a result of insights from the analysis or the literature or through pragmatic considerations in data collection.

In spite of the contingency of a number of aspects of the process[8], it was driven by three related questions. Further on in this chapter I will explore them in more depth and discuss their implications for the research strategy and how the relative significance of each changed according to circumstance. At the outset, the questions were framed broadly to reflect the exploratory character of the early stages of the project, and reflected my interest in the relationship between the internationalisation of higher education, cross-border scholarly mobility, and the role and character of specific locations implicated in these processes. Taking England as the location and context in which the study would be carried out, three broad thematic questions were initially articulated:

1. How do non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education system *practise* mobility (internationally and inter-institutionally)?
2. How do non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education system *experience* mobility?
3. What can these practices and experiences tell us about the English sector (and specific locations and institutions) in an international context?

In the sections which follow I will discuss the theoretical positions that informed the research and my methodological decisions; I will present the ways in which each core question was broken down into sub-questions which implied specific methods of data collection and analysis; and I will discuss some of the specific features of this project which presented both challenges and benefits. Before doing this, however, it is instructive to review how I came to undertake this study and select the topic and questions.

[8] It is worth noting that the contingency of the research process is not necessarily problematic but reflects, rather, the 'messiness' of the social world and the limitations of imposing meaning on it (Law 2006).

Researching mobile academics: an insider's account?

In locating myself in the research in this way my aim is to be transparent about the assumptions, both implicit and explicit, that I brought to this project. At this stage it is fair to say that, on reflection, these assumptions have on the whole been an asset; not because they have been substantiated but because there has been so much dissonance between them and the literature, theory and data. These dissonances have forced me to review, clarify, reconstruct or even discard the ideas that I began with and recognise the embodied and subjective dimension to research and knowledge more generally.

The sub-heading of this section raises the question of whether it is a piece of insider research. It is important to ask this question because it has implications for the research process. Insider research can be defined quite narrowly as research undertaken in one's own workplace (Robson 2002), which raises both practical and ethical issues about access and anonymity. More broadly, insider research can be drawn to include research in which the researcher shares some characteristics or experiences of informants (Rooney 2005). My research touched upon issues in both the narrow and the broad sense: in the narrow sense it included a pilot phase undertaken at my own institution; in the broad sense it involved exploring questions about practices (of mobility) and contexts (education institutions and universities) of which I had first-hand experience.

For something more than a decade before beginning my PhD I worked as a teacher of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in six countries including the UK, for periods of between five months and approximately ten years. I worked in the private English college sector in Singapore and Japan; in public universities in Australia, the UK and Qatar; and on the branch campus of a British university in China. These stages could be categorised in several ways, for example by country, type of institution or the nature of the work, but ultimately they are embodied in me and my life history and, in that sense, form a more or less coherent linear narrative with the difficult bits that do not easily fit either ironed out or forgotten according to the time, place and audience of the telling.

Rather than presenting a particular version of a narrative here I will draw out some of the key points which informed this project. It is fair to say that this account has been influenced by the research insofar as I have developed a vocabulary in which to express it and a set of theories that illuminate it. I should reiterate then, that whilst in a crude form my ideas about the relationships between internationalisation, higher education, mobility and place were already present, my understanding of the personal and life course factors emerged largely in the course of the research. My own experience played an important part in reconciling the professional and personal dimensions of

mobility that emerged in the data, and finding points of leverage which enabled me to move the data forward into theory. Simultaneously, of course, new layers of interpretation and understanding were added to my own story. Ultimately the relationship between my own narratives and those of the respondents served to trouble the easy conclusions that could be drawn from both.

The first point is that my professional life and to a large degree my social life was embedded in communities of people who were, had been, intended to be, or retained the possibility of being internationally mobile in some way; whose motivations varied from adventure-seeking, language-learning, educational or work opportunities, to permanent migration. This to some extent 'normalised' the practices of international mobility for me to the point that I felt, on the whole, that geographical mobility was something that was simply always an option at any time, even though early on in my time in Australia I began to think of my stay as permanent. However, whilst fairly mundane in some ways, my own mobility and the mobility of EFL teachers more generally was not of the sort I recognised in the literatures on transnationalism, mobility, migration or education that I encountered subsequently.[9]

A second point is that the temporalities, motivations and practices of my own mobilities varied. I crossed borders for many reasons, both personal and professional, which implied different engagements with host places and different (imagined and real) outcomes. In most cases there was a mix of reasons shaping the timing and geographies. For example, I went to Singapore because I was unsure what to do after I finished my first degree; because I had some old friends who had recently moved there because their mother was Singaporean; but also because I thought it would be a challenging and exciting experience for a few months. When I returned to the UK in 2003 it was for almost entirely personal reasons: a family illness for which I wanted to be proximate. Later, when I went to China, it was for almost entirely instrumental and professional reasons: to gain experience in a core higher education market that would enhance my CV.

The third point is that the opportunities for mobility or immobility and my own agendas did not necessarily coincide, and this became problematic as other factors in my life course intervened. My 2003 return to the UK, for example, meant a return to a small, fairly suburban environment with few if any opportunities to teach English. Professionally, my capital was highly place specific and of no value where I found myself. Mobility had become something of a burdensome necessity as much as

[9] There is little research on the mobility practices of EFL teachers, who are in any case a heterogeneous population. In general the mobility practices of this group do not fit standard notions of ethnic transnationalism from below or more privileged elite mobilities. In a recent intervention Lam (2013) studied a group of EFL teachers in Hong Kong, locating their practices and dispositions in what she terms a cosmopolitan 'Global Drift'. Lam recognises the ways in which contemporary globalisation shapes the circuits and practices of mobility for this group; I would add that in my own case I was conscious of an historical dimension that linked my own linguistic and cultural capital to older colonial and post-colonial geographies.

an escape, and it was at this point that I went to Qatar and then China. I returned subsequently to London, rather than Sydney which might have been a possibility, because my partner had family there and we were expecting our first child. If until this point I had been able to use mobility as a way to transform the relationships between my various forms of capital and the places I lived, my life stage at that point demanded the opposite: to transform my capital for the environment I was in.

The fourth point is about my awareness of the contexts which shaped my mobilities and my career. I first went overseas to teach English in the mid-1990s when an increasingly marketised demand for the English language and Western education was emerging, first in the Asian Tiger economies and then in China and the Middle East. My time in Singapore predated that country's education hub strategy but even then most of the students were Malaysians or Indonesians attracted by the English-language environment and other educational opportunities. Sydney when I arrived was experiencing a boom in its educational exports, and I witnessed the changes in its markets through the nationalities of my students: in the mid-1990s they were mostly Korean, Thai and Indonesian, though numbers declined after the crash of the Tiger Economies in late 1997. By the turn of the century, there were increasing numbers of students from the People's Republic of China. Later in Qatar I trained teachers for the new English-medium primary curriculum designed to prepare Qataris for the knowledge economy.

In China I worked for the first British branch campus in that country. Also, for the first time, I encountered on a day to day basis the 'professoriate' side of international higher education. I was curious about the fact that many did not want to be in China, in a professional sense, or at least away from the higher education systems of the UK or the USA. This was the case, I felt surprisingly, even for people whose research interests were located in East Asia. At the end of my contract, of my English teaching colleagues, very few returned to their home countries. In contrast, most of the academic staff that left returned to the home campus in the UK or to another UK institution. Later on, during a conversation my MA dissertation supervisor revealed that the PhD he had earned at the Hong Kong Institute of Education was not widely recognised in the Anglo-American academic labour market. I started to become aware, therefore, of the specific geographies of academic careers and the ways they are linked to hierarchies of prestige and recognition.

A final point is that these experiences came together when I returned to education, first for a diploma in international higher education by distance from an Australian institution, then an on-campus MA in Comparative Education in London. One of the things that interested me was the ways in which geography was being transcended or bypassed though engagement with the flows and

mobilities of the global economy; how otherwise place-bound higher education institutions[10] could appear in physical or programme form in other countries, supposedly with no fundamental alterations; whilst at the same time places could reposition themselves in the global economy through the kinds of transformations an overseas institution was assumed to catalyse. Most important, however, was the fact that at all levels these mobilities and transformations were the work of people, students and academics, who populated flows and places but appeared in the discourses only by implication through the activities of institutions or in the abstract, as carriers of mobile skills and knowledge.

By the time I began my PhD, then, I had developed a sense that mobility was multifaceted in ways far more complex and nuanced than dominant media and policy discourses would imply. I had been mobile, and I had been an immigrant (of sorts); I had been mobile through choice or chance, and through necessity; and I had been led by personal and professional reasons. Whilst the pathways of my mobility had always involved teaching, it was at times secondary to the mobility. Perhaps the most important idea that had emerged for me was that place and geography mattered deeply. It mattered in spite of, or perhaps even more so because of, the increasing ease and scale of mobility, and it mattered because place *makers* (governments and institutions) believed it mattered and they acted upon this to establish education hubs, zones and cities, and areas; or to keep people out or entice them in.

Theoretical perspectives

Researching the social world

A very basic definition of social science could be that it is a 'scientific way' of 'telling about' society (Ragin 1994, p. 6). Its claim to science distinguishes it, for example, from journalism, fiction writing or art, which have their own ways of 'telling about' the world. Yet this claim to science is the departure point for any number of disputes about the nature of the social world: what it is made of (ontology), and what can be known about it (epistemology); as well as how that knowledge should (or can) be collected and interpreted (methodology, methods and analysis).[11] Ontology, epistemology and methodology are generally held to inform one another, insofar as assumptions of

[10] Particularly, in fact, in the case of institutions, which are not just linked or associated with places but physically, historically and culturally embedded in specific territories.

[11] A further dimension to social research which could be added here is axiology: the values that inform the choice of research, how it is conducted and what it should do. Lincoln and Guba (2003) have argued the case for making axiology 'a part of the basic foundational philosophical dimensions of paradigm proposal' (265). This chapter does not contain a section on axiology, but the issues it addresses are included in the sections on subjectivity and ethics and touched upon explicitly in the discussion on the implications of critical realist approaches to social research (see below).

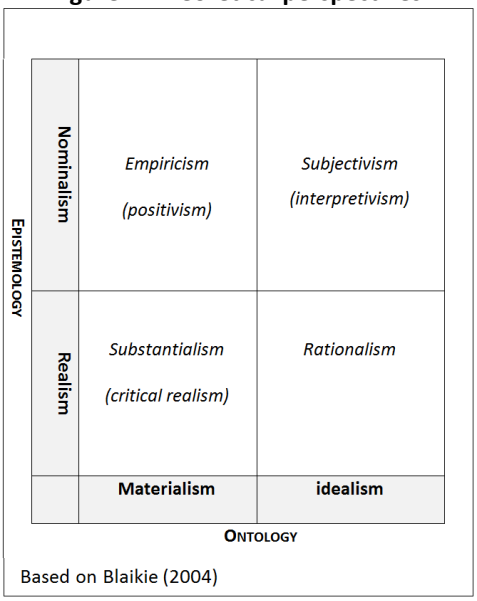
social reality determine what a researcher believes can be known, which in turn shapes the research strategy (or indeed the reverse could be the case). The particular positions a researcher takes about each of these together constitute the paradigm of a project. Following through from fundamental assumptions to data collection in a coherent fashion is essential in order to 'ensure the soundness of our research and make its outcome convincing' (Crotty 1998, p. 6).

There is a multiplicity of paradigms in social research, not all of which are relevant here and some of which have fallen out of favour. One problem in mapping these paradigms is that, when writing about them, philosophers and social theorists differ in so many ways: in fundamental aspects or in esoteric details; in deploying different terminology to refer to the same thing, or the same terminology to refer to different things;[12] or dissecting core ideas in different ways. In addition, there is not a consensus on how or even if ontology and epistemology can be imported into social research as distinct concepts (Blaikie 2009; Crotty 1998). Crotty (1998), for example, merges what are usually considered ontological factors with epistemology and adds a category of 'theoretical perspectives'.

Nevertheless, in broad terms paradigms might be mapped according to the ways in which ontological and epistemological factors intersect. Norman Blaikie's entry on epistemology in The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods (2004) does just this (see Figure 1). On one axis are the ontological positions *materialism*, which corresponds to the assumption of the existence of a mind-independent social world, and *idealism*, which corresponds to the assumption that the real world is a product of human meaning-making. On the other axis are the epistemological positions *nominalism*, which proposes that there is no necessary or relevant reality beyond the shared labels and categories used to describe the social world, and *realism*, which proposes that there does exist a social reality which is more or less amenable to scientific investigation. At the intersection of these categories are four theoretical positions: empiricism (a materialist ontology with a nominalist epistemology), subjectivism (an idealist ontology with a nominalist epistemology), substantialism (a material ontology with a nominalist epistemology), and rationalism (an idealist ontology with a realist epistemology).

[12] Lofland and Lofland (1984) describe 'a terminological jungle where many labels compete, and no single label has been able to command the particular domain before us' (cited in Ely et al. 1991, p. 2).

Figure 1. Theoretical perspectives



Blaikie's (2004) four-fold typology points to the possibility of a wide range of theoretical positions, in contrast to the dichotomous representations of social theory common in introductory texts. Whilst 'too crude' (Blaikie 2007, p. 16) to accurately reflect current practice, these representations nevertheless provide a framework for placing social theory in its historical context. Two schools of thought tend to be identified: one based on positivist assumptions, the other on subjectivist assumptions. The differences between the two schools have been considered fundamentally different and irreconcilable on ontological and epistemological levels, with all sorts of implications for selection and mixing of quantitative and qualitative methods. To the extent that the disputes between advocates of these two positions have constituted a 'paradigm war', a number of points need to be made about them.

The first point is that positivist approaches stem in part from attempts to achieve the kind of prestige for social sciences that is accorded to the natural sciences. It assumes there is a real world independent of human minds, which is susceptible to observation and measurement, and subsequently the development of predictive theoretical models that can be tested through experimentation. Whilst natural science has, indeed, produced 'impressive material results' (Flyvbjerg 2001, p. 26), classical representations ignore insights from the philosophy and sociology of science that have shown both the tentative character of scientific knowledge (Popper 1959) and the role of scientific communities in legitimising new knowledge (Kuhn 1962).

The second point is that the objectivist-positivist model of natural science, imported into social science, results in an 'abstracted empiricism' (Mills 1959) based on work with large-scale data sets, and which generate 'thin' understandings of phenomena and weak theoretical formulations. It has also led, in the past, to a mistaken attempt to generate social laws with predictive power (Popper

1957). Even the emergence of Grounded Theory from the late 1960s (Glaser & Strauss 1967) reflected a desire to claim for qualitative research the kind of rigour valorised in quantitative work. Nevertheless, partly as a result of its borrowing of the language of natural science (Moses & Knutsen 2007), quantitative social science has been privileged by policy makers and other as a producer of 'acceptable knowledge' whilst qualitative work remains in 'relatively low esteem' (Bryman 2008, pp. 23, 16).

Thirdly, and in contrast to positivist approaches, subjectivist accounts emphasise the role of the human subject, in context, in interpreting and giving meaning to the social world. The purpose of research is therefore to identify and understand how individuals and communities perceive the world and how these perceptions constitute social patterns, not to discover an underlying reality. The consequences of these assumptions are a tendency for subjectivist research to be qualitative in nature, and 'almost invariably a rejection of the view that "truths" about the social world can be established by using natural science methods' (Robson 2002, p. 24). This can lead to a postmodern relativism in which *nothing* true can be said about the social world; instead, a model of social science emerges which is disengaged and introspectively concerned with the modes of its own production (May 1999).

Of course, the characterisation here of the positivist and subjectivist accounts is simplistic. For one thing, development of various schools of thought have been shaped by national traditions and historical phases (Denzin & Lincoln 2003). Furthermore, in the last 20 years or so three main approaches have come to dominate social research: post-positivism and constructivism, emerging from positivism and subjectivism respectively, and emancipatory standpoint approaches such as feminism (Robson 2002). However, many of the disputes and theoretical questions remain unresolved, including those around the nature and validity of knowledge claims within the social sciences; the nature of structure and agency and the relationship between them; and the use of qualitative and quantitative methods.

These disputes lead back to the original definition of social science as a 'scientific way' of 'telling about' society. To be scientific does not mean adhering to a positivistic natural science model, but it is important that the logic of research design can be followed from ontologies to epistemologies and research strategies in coherent ways. This logic is not constrained in the sense that a particular ontology demands a particular and corresponding epistemology or research strategy; in reality a decision on each can lead to a number of choices in terms of another. Neither does the logic flow in a single direction: theoretical assumptions can precede the articulation of an epistemological position (Crotty 1998). In reality, most researchers are pragmatic in drawing on a variety of

methodological and theoretical resources as appropriate (Ragin 1994) and which can, even for qualitative researchers, include statistics and graphs (Denzin & Lincoln 2003).

This section has broadly and very briefly mapped the main theoretical positions that inform social research. It has shown that two paradigms, loosely defined, have been the source both of innovation and dispute in the practice of social research. It is incomplete, however, and my own position remains to be articulated. This I will do in the sections which follow.

Theoretical perspectives

Interdisciplinarity is a theme which runs through the design and execution of this project. One of the elements that was problematised by this interdisciplinarity was the literature review.[13] From this, however, emerged a further problem, of which discipline-specific theoretical perspectives should be brought to bear and in what ways. The main fields which informed the literature were in themselves very diverse in their theoretical underpinnings. In the study of higher education, moreover, theory is often absent or implicit, reflecting its origins in professional practice.[14] Tight has observed that the field of higher education studies is, in fact, 'a-theoretical' (Tight 2004). Whilst Tight sees this lack of theory as evidence of the lack of maturation of higher education research as a field, Hermanowicz goes further, considering it 'the chief impediment to a bona fide sociology of higher education' (Hermanowicz 2012). A more recent review of higher education studies literature, again by Tight, finds more positively that researchers tend to draw on a common set of methods and methodologies (Tight 2013).

Work on academic careers as a subset of higher education studies has remained equally lacking in definition. An early review of the (US) field of higher education research (Clark 2007/1973) noted that a field of sociology of higher education had emerged by the 1960s, yet work on academic careers remained 'conceptually ad hoc' (Clark 2007/1973, p. 8). Recent work, however, has begun to identify areas and approaches common to the study of the academic career (Finkelstein 2006; Hermanowicz 2012; Rhoades 2007), and to academic work more generally (Rosser & Tabata 2010).

A similar situation is evident in work addressing the practices of the migratory and mobile highly skilled. For one thing, work on migration is found across disciplines including history, economics, sociology, anthropology, politics and law which all bring unique methodological and theoretical insights to bear on shared problems (Brettell & Hollifield 2000), and also the scales at which they are analysed, from individuals and families, to sending or receiving towns, regions and countries, to

[13] See below for a note on the methodological questions raised by the literature review and a clarification of the meaning of 'interdisciplinarity' as it pertains here.
[14] Even the notion of a singular 'field' is questionable when it is examined closely. According to Clegg (2012), there is not one field of higher education studies but possibly multiple and overlapping fields.

networks and to regional and global territories (Hammar & Tamas 1997). In spite of efforts to bridge disciplinary boundaries (Agozino 2000b; Brettell & Hollifield 2000), Favell has observed the enduring tendency for researchers to remain in their disciplinary silos. He calls instead for a 'post-disciplinary' approach (Favell 2008b). Much of the diversity of migration studies is equally evident, though loosely bounded, in the theoretical and methodological pluralism of human geography (Massey et al. 1993). Geography, in fact, is a discipline well suited, in Russell King's view, to the research of migration. However, whilst it is arguably 'the most open and interdisciplinary of the social sciences […, its] breadth of scope also makes it a potentially fragmented [discipline]' (King 2012, p. 18).

In seeking a solution to the problem of this diversity I opted to pursue a grounded, inductive approach to the study. Theoretical positions certainly informed my interpretation of the data but not (at least not explicitly) the design of the research itself. The solution was to seek a more foundational, or overarching approach to framing the study in theoretical terms. A further advantage of this approach was that it gave the study coherence on a broad level.

A realist approach to social research

The theoretical perspective adopted in this thesis is broadly realist. My understanding of realism is based on its common sense character; in particular that it denies neither the creative power of individuals nor the enabling and constraining powers of social organisation. In other words it attempts to reconcile the tensions between structure and agency that have characterised the disputes between positivists and constructivists. Realism comes in many forms, and is an element of many other social theories (see Blaikie (2007) and Robson (2002) on this). Here I have been influenced mainly by my readings of Roy Bhaskar (1998 [1979]), Margaret Archer (1995), and other writers most commonly associated with the tradition of 'Critical Realism'. The three core features of this type of realism are:

> Ontologically, the strongly held claim that there does exist a world independent, to differing degrees, of human beings and that the underlying mechanisms generate the events we observe and experience.[15]
>
> Epistemologically, the fact that we do not have pure, unmediated access to this world but that our knowledge must always be locally and historically relative. But in accepting epistemic relativism we do not thereby accept judgmental relativism—there are grounds for choosing between competing views.

[15] The nature of social things as subjects of study ought to be mentioned. Whilst Jennifer Mason (2002) offers a fairly extensive list of things which make up social reality (which includes people, narratives, representations, actions, texts and markets), most realists focus on the hidden mechanisms underlying it: 'What should be considered to exist […] are the relations between people that constitute social organisations, and it is in terms of the properties of those relations and organisations that an explanation of social events should be given' (Nash 1999, p. 157). The ontological reality of the social world is recognised as an intellectual puzzle; as 'peculiar' (Bhaskar 1998 [1979], p. 58) or 'vexatious' (Archer 1995, p. 2).

> Methodologically, the retroductive approach of hypothesising generative mechanisms that would explain our experiences and then trying to confirm or deny their existence. This underwrites a pluralist view of research and intervention methods (Minger 2006, p. 31).

That my perspective is realist is implicit in the way I framed my research problem; i.e. that I aimed to explore both the *practices* and the *experiences* of mobile academics and understand them in the context of internationalised higher education. Looked at from a traditional perspective there appears to be a contradiction: *practices* are observable events and behaviours that lend themselves to quantification (and in a geographical sense, also mapping); *experiences* are subjective and personal, and best understood through interpretation. *Practices* are removed and more or less distant from the researcher and even the subject, for whom they exist as historical points on a life course; *experiences* are indivisible from a respondent, they demand engagement in order to be understood. Researching *practices* generates insights into the activities that collectively constitute social phenomena and structures; researching *experiences* generates a deep understanding of the ways a single person (or group of people) perceives and engages with her contexts, opportunities and obstacles. Exploring practices suggests a positivist approach; exploring experiences suggests a constructivist approach.

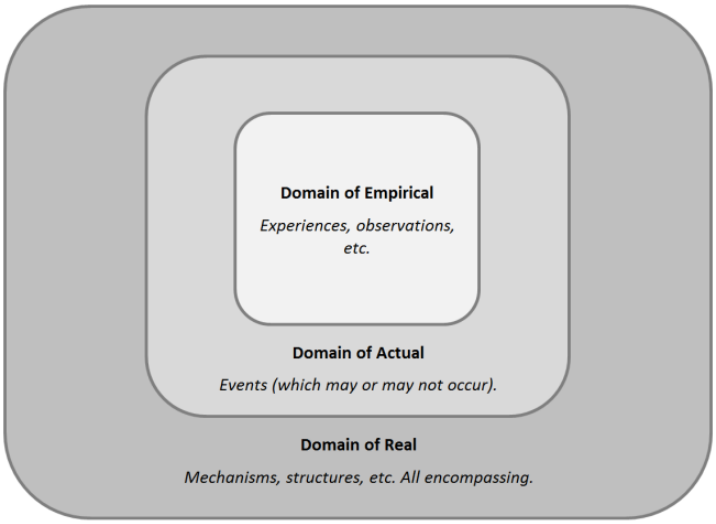
Ontology and epistemology in realist perspective

In what follows here I will take only the features of realism which are most salient. Whilst there is a risk that this approach will not fully or perhaps fairly represent the ideas of central works, the alternative would be a lengthy exegesis on each one, which is neither necessary nor desirable.[16] Importantly, the purpose here is only to lay the ontological-epistemological groundwork for the methodological decisions which will follow, and to this extent is somewhat pragmatic. A final point is that, as implied in the foregoing comments, I do not subscribe to a form of 'critical realism' in a dogmatic way; only to the extent that it offers a reasonable paradigmatic context for my study. Other theoretical traditions would be equally satisfactory on a practical level, though do not so clearly provide the metaphysical 'underlabouring' of realist ontological and epistemological approaches. For example, whilst Archer (1995, 2010) has spent a good deal of time attacking Giddens (1979, 1984) for his 'structuration' theory it is not clear that it is fundamentally distinct from critical realism (King 2010a) nor that the two are necessarily incompatible (Stones 2012).

[16] Archer and Sayers, for example, both devote a lot of time to situating realism in the broader context of social theory, and in particular comparing and contrasting with other recent theoretical developments. Archer in particular has been engaged in a long dispute with Giddens over the role of time in resolving the structure-agency dichotomy.

A key feature of the realist paradigm is that the world[17] is stratified. It is stratified first because it is layered and opaque, limiting our access to and knowledge of it. In the critical realism expounded by Bhaskar (2008 [1975]), the world is made up of three domains: the Real, the Actual and the Empirical, in which different elements of reality – mechanisms, events and experiences – are located. These different layers can be represented graphically (see Figure 2). In the Domain of the Real lies the totality of the world and everything in it. Importantly, it includes the structures and casual mechanisms that we can have no experience of and can therefore know only through evidence of their existence as it manifests through events and objects. The events that these mechanisms cause to happen (or not to happen) exist in the Domain of the Actual; and we may or may not be cognizant of them depending on the extent to which they intrude into the Domain of the Empirical, that is, of our everyday experience.

Figure 2: Bhaskar's (2008 [1975]) three domains of reality



A second assumption of the realist paradigm, and a second element of stratification, is that reality is emergent. Emergence occurs when collective activities function to generate new strata or phenomena which are irreducible to their component parts. An analogy with the natural world is the combination of atoms of oxygen and hydrogen to form water, a molecule with properties quite unlike those of its constituents. In the social world those constituent parts could be individuals coming together in an organisation such as a university or, for that matter, universities acting in cooperation or competition to constitute a higher education system. Archer identifies three different types of emergent phenomenon, all of which have an impact on agents; these are Structurally

[17] In Bhaskar's realism in particular a core objective is to outline an approach to science which encompasses both the natural and the social worlds. Whilst there are important distinctions between the natural and the social Bhaskar nevertheless proposes a common philosophical framework and is often referring to both simultaneously.

Emergent Properties (SEPs), People's Emergent Properties (PEPs) and Culturally Emergent Properties (CEPs).

The example of a higher education system can be extended a little further to illustrate a third feature: the complexity of the social world and the contingency of causality. For realists there is no straightforward correspondence between cause and effect, rather there is a constellation of agents who are more or less able to exercise influence in their own interests. At the same time, these agents come together in particular contexts, yet all have the potential to belong to multiple systems. Archer has developed quite a nuanced schema for understanding agency and the place of individuals in collectives. To begin with she identifies two types of agent: *Corporate Agents* and *Primary Agents*, which are distinguished by their cohesion and clarity of purpose, as well as their ability to act and influence the environment consciously. Corporate Agents are the more powerful, as they are organised. However, Primary Agents can also have an influence, and the actions of both Corporate and Primary Agents have unanticipated outcomes.

A second point is that Social Agents (always plural) are not the same as Social Actors (singular). Actors occupy positions and perform roles; these roles have emergent properties not reducible to the occupant. Moreover, roles exist in sets, which imply further relationships. A teacher implies a student, but also a school, a curriculum and so on. Another point is that actors are not reducible to persons, but are anchored in them: persons have the capacity to reflect on their roles as actors, and the dissonance between an individual and a social identity creates the possibility for reflection.

Seeing a higher education sector as merely an aggregate of universities would lead to the omission of the important influences of business and employer organisations, of academic unions or ideological pressure groups, or indeed of parents and students. The extent to which any agent can affect or shape change depends on any number of factors, including their organisational coherence, their diagnosis of the environment and programme of action, their place in a hierarchy, and the nature and number of other actors. Significantly, causal powers are not understood only as productive, they can equally be prohibiting, in which case of course nothing will be experienced in the empirical domain of the individual. In this way either social change or stability is produced (in Archer's (1995) nomenclature this is known as *morphogenesis* and *morphostasis* respectively).

Furthermore, and this is the third point, there is the possibility that each new stratum will react back onto, and influence, the agents and behaviours from which it emerged. Individuals in their collective, agential configurations must therefore be held analytically separate from the structures that they generate. The failure to retain this ontological distinction can occur in three ways (Archer 1995): 'downward conflation', in which structure is reified and humans are reduced to automatons by the

deterministic power of their contexts; 'upward conflation', when individuals are centred at the expense of structure, which is viewed as a mere aggregate of collective activity with no distinct qualities of its own. Structurationists such as Giddens (1979, 1984) have endeavoured to resolve the problem of the upward and downward conflation but have only succeeded in collapsing the two in a 'central conflation' in which neither is analytically distinct from the other.

A fourth, related, point is the centrality of temporality in social processes. Critical realism historicises and holds distinct the phases and the strata that constitute the processes of structural generation, feedback, and change/stability in the social world. A central criticism of structuration is that the structure is 'instantiated' at the moment agents draw on the rules and resources available to them in order to act. This ignores the fact that the structures and phenomenon of the social world pre-exist us and, therefore, we are always acting in contexts generated (intentionally and unintentionally) by earlier generations. Conversely, the actions of agents today will have foreseen and unforeseen outcomes which will shape the contexts of the agency of future generations.

The epistemological implications of these assumptions are several. For one thing, a key feature of the realist position is that knowledge can be transitive or intransitive. Transitive knowledge consists of,

> […] the antecedently established facts and theories, paradigms and models, methods and techniques of inquiry available to a particular scientific school or worker'; intransitive knowledge, on the other hand, consists of the 'objects of knowledge' [which do not] depend upon human activity (Bhaskar 2008 [1975], p. 11).

In this sense it is an attempt to combine a positivist ontology with a constructivist epistemology.

Because the social world is made up of open systems, any question involves exploration of constituent parts, i.e. agents or individuals at various scales, located in multiple systems. It is impossible therefore to impose artificial controls on, or exclude, the variables which may or may not have an impact on a phenomenon (as is the practice in natural science). As a result our knowledge can only be of phenomena as they exist under particular historical and spatial conditions. Social science is therefore explanatory rather than nomothetic or predictive, and always grounded in specific contexts.

The fifth feature of the realist epistemological paradigm is that the ways in which we understand the world are concept dependent, not theoretically neutral; in other words, we cannot assume that our empirical observations are either complete or accurate. Hence social research must acknowledge Giddens' (1984) double hermeneutic (of reflexive researchers and reflexive subjects) in approaching its claims to knowledge. Archer gives this conceptual, specifically *cultural*, dimension of the social

world an ontological status as an emergent property,[18] thereby recognising its causal powers. At the same time, the multiple interpretations of reality should not lead us to the 'epistemic fallacy' (Nash 1999) that there are multiple realities. In fact, the extent to which an interpretation corresponds to reality,[19] its 'practical adequacy' (Sayer 2000), is often easily determined through comparison with empirical cases or counter cases. For example, the belief that a social phenomenon is the result of 'X' could easily be proved inadequate if, elsewhere, that phenomenon existed without the presence of X, or vice versa.

To summarise, according to a realist paradigm the social world is emergent, complex and layered. People engage with structures as individuals and as elements of collective agents, changing those structures in deliberate and inadvertent ways and in combination with many other competing or cooperating agents. What is 'real', or at least of fundamental importance, for realists are the hidden mechanisms that shape agency in proscriptive or enabling ways. In making knowledge claims we must therefore recognise the contingency of both social forms and social knowledge, the double hermeneutic of interpretation, and the ultimate fallibility of our knowledge. Nevertheless, realists assert that there *is* a real world, which can be known by inference from observation of phenomena in context and, to the extent that knowledge claims can approximate truth, they are not all equally valid (or rather 'trustworthy' as Robson (2002) would have it).

To conclude this section I will make a couple of points about the axiological implications of realist, particularly *critical realist* research. In putting the 'critical' into critical realism, Bhaskar and those that have followed have aimed to lend it an emancipatory dimension. There are two dimensions to this. The first is that in exploring the relationship between structure and agency, emphasis is placed identifying the structures of power and privilege which are implicated. It is therefore not enough to say that something is socially constructed: 'When someone says something is "socially constructed", always ask "by whom, and of what, and with what effects?"' (Sayer 2006, p. 100). The second dimension is that in the critical moment when an interpretation ceases to substantively correspond with the social world, our knowledge is revealed to be false or inadequate and we can begin to look for better explanations of why things are the way they are. As Porter (2002, p. 65) puts it, realist research (in this case ethnographic) can 'illuminate structured relations, and beyond that, to show how these relations may be oppressive, and to point to the sort of actions required to make them less oppressive'.

[18] Archer's three categories of emergence, as noted above, apply to structure (Structural Emergent Properties or SEPs), people (People's Emergent Properties or PEPs), and culture (Cultural Emergent Properties or CEPs).
[19] Bearing in mind that realists reject a simple empirical correspondence.

Realism and methodology

Colin Robson (2002) proposes an analogy which captures the realist approach to explaining the social world, in which a researcher attempting to understand how a flame added to gunpowder precipitates an explosion must observe and record the conditions in which the first event leads to the second. By observing the *actions* and the *outcomes* of events *in context* the researcher can begin to infer the properties of the *mechanisms* which underlie it. If the context changes, for instance if the gunpowder is damp, the outcome will be changed or absent.[20] Robson is just one social researcher who has applied realism to a methodological programme in very practical ways (i.e. at the level of methodology and methods).[21] Archer's work on the morphogenetic approach explicitly sets out to establish the 'underlabouring' possibilities of Bhaskar's realism, and she is therefore more general in her prescriptions.

The first methodological implication of a realist approach is that it demands the analytical abstraction of emergent phenomena. In other words, there should be a clear conceptualisation and delineation of a subject of investigation in order to understand it as fully as possible before returning to its relationship with its context (Sayer 2000). In practice this could mean exploring the nestedness of a phenomenon or subject in contexts of various scales[22] from, for example, individual to family, to institution, to country or labour market, or migration system (Robson 2002). Though not explicitly realist, Marginson and Rhoades (2002) have proposed something akin to this in their notion of a methodological 'glonacal heuristic', which not only places institutions of higher education in global (the *glo*-), national (the *na*-) and local (the *-cal*) contexts but troubles the assumptions that particular territorial scales either homogenise or contain agency and processes.

Equally importantly, understanding a phenomenon in its context demands a pluralistic research strategy which could include both qualitative and quantitative methods (Danermark et al. 2002; Robson 2002). The economic conditions, discourses and practices that characterise and surround a phenomenon are all relevant and it is up to the researcher to identify and make a case for the inclusion of any one in particular or several in combination. Although quantitative approaches have value, particularly in identifying patterns and regularities in the social world, it is necessary to employ qualitative methods to achieve a deep understanding and to begin making sense of the underlying mechanisms. In other words, the stratified and deep nature of the world demands more than a surface empiricism.

[20] Robson's analogy hints at (but does not make explicit) a quality of catalysis in events, which is not necessarily to the forefront of realist explanations.
[21] Useful guides here, which also demonstrate some consensus, have been Sayers (2000), Danemark *et al.* (2002) and Yeung (1997).
[22] Without making any assumptions about the nestedness of the scales themselves.

It can be seen from the above that realism does not prescribe or rule out particular approaches. Broadly, however, there is a tendency to adopt methodological positions influenced by ethnography (Porter 2002; Robson 2002), with a focus on biographies and narratives (Wengraf 2001).[23] These approaches are common across the social sciences, not only to realist research, but realists argue the importance of moving from the empirical domains of reality to the obscured structures of power that inform them (Danermark et al. 2002). In other words, ethnographic approaches are used by realist researchers not to 'ideographically illuminate the understandings and actions of individuals, but to use examination of those understandings and actions as part of the process of uncovering the relationship between agency and structure' (Porter 2002, p. 65).[24]

The above is then, is a brief account of the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions underlying my approach. My position is an attenuated version of critical realism; in practice ethnographic and qualitative. I have not pursued in depth the critical realist attention to the mechanisms that generate structures and behaviours but rather attended to the ways in which they are perceived by and act on individuals at the intersection of their mobile, work and personal lives. This is a product of grounding the research in the lives of the respondents and ultimately the practical outcomes I hoped to achieve. At the same time, there is scope for reading off individuals' accounts to further understand the shape and operation of structurally significant phenomenon and, through juxtaposing them against the narratives of my interviewees, of troubling dominant accounts of why and how academic mobility occurs.

Finally, whilst critical realism satisfactorily underpins my research on a quite metaphysical level, and proposes a set of assumptions which sit together more or less coherently, there are elements of other theoretical traditions which would certainly complement it in the middle range. For example, although the utility of critical realist perspectives has been explored in human geography (Lawson & Staeheli 1990; Sayer 2000; Yeung 1997) and migration studies (Bakewell 2010; Iosifides 2003; Stones 2012), and has also influenced studies of higher education (Clegg 2008, 2012; Connors 2010), it has not had as much purchase on real-world, and particularly spatial, questions as theories which address the relationality of agents' positions in social fields or networks (Bourdieu 1983, 1986; DeLanda 2006; Latour 1987, 2005). I have drawn attention to these other theories in the literature review, and will return to them in my final discussion.

[23] This is of course of most relevance to researchers exploring contemporary social questions. Steinmetz (1998) observes that critical realist approaches, and particularly questions of reflexivity in ethnography, will have different implications depending on academic field. Archer's early work (specifically her Social Origins of Educational Systems of 1979), for example, was on the macro-historical origins of education systems.
[24] Hammersley (1992), whilst arguing in favour of a 'subtle' form of realism in applying ethnography to realist research, is critical of the 'indefensible' (50) position that ethnographers can in any straightforward way reveal the truth.

Multiple methods and sources in qualitative research

In the design of my study I adopted a mixed methods approach. Mixed approaches have a long history in social research, although only relatively recently have they become a recognised field, or even a 'third paradigm' to complement quantitative and qualitative approaches (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson et al. 2007). As discussed above, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative positions maps on ontological and epistemological paradigms which have somewhat blurry and overlapping boundaries (Ragin 1994; Denzin and Lincoln 2003), and the pragmatism and plurality of social researchers often lead to the incorporation of different elements in the practice of social research (Brannen 2005). This is an important point: in some of their manifestations, mixed methods approaches can free the researcher to explore 'the multi-dimensionality of lived experience' (Mason 2006a, p. 11).

A simple definition of mixed methods might point to its use of two or more approaches to data collection or analysis in a single study. In fact, mixed methods research can be understood as incorporating a range of practices which are sometimes more systematically integrated than others. This is reflected in the variety of terms which are or have been used to describe it and at times are used: multi- or multiple-methods, blended research, integrative research, and triangulated studies, for example (Johnson et al. 2007). Moreover, in Johnson et al.'s (2007) survey of over 30 leading mixed methods researchers only one drew a distinction between the terms 'mixed methods' and 'multi/multiple methods'. In practice, the terms are often used interchangeably. Johnson et al. (2007) go on to develop a definition of mixed method research:

> Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (p. 123).

This definition points to some of the advantages of mixed methods research. It is not, for example, a straightforward matter of triangulation, although that is one possibility. Mason (2006) has devised a six-fold typology of mixed methods which incorporates not only research design, but also the challenges and possible benefits of each type. She outlines how mixed methods can be used, firstly, 'for a close-up illustration of a bigger picture, or for background' (p. 3); secondly, 'to ask and answer differently conceived or separate questions' (p. 4); thirdly, 'to ask questions about connecting parts, segments or layers of a social whole' (p. 6); fourthly, 'to achieve accurate measurement through triangulation' (p. 8); fifthly, 'to ask distinctive but intersecting questions' (p. 8); and, finally, 'mixing methods opportunistically' (p. 11).

Mason argues that each of these approaches has its own degree of challenge and reward. For example, the first might simply be a matter of placing qualitative data in its wider contexts. This 'rhetorical logic' is fairly easy to achieve, yet adds little to a project. The 'integrative logic' of the third category, on the other hand, is difficult to put into practice and to do well, but can generate interesting findings. Whilst the systematic and planned integration of concepts and methods is generally held to be central to genuinely mixed approaches (Johnson et al. 2007; Woolley 2009),[25] Mason sees her fifth type, which is collaborative rather than integrative, as holding the most potential. Rather than forcing a combination of strategies rather artificially into a single paradigm, in the collaborative approach both 'the field of enquiry itself, and what we think is the problem that we are researching, are likely to be redefined' (Mason 2006, p. 9).

As Mason highlights, mixed methods research is not without its challenges. For one thing, and notwithstanding discussions elsewhere in this chapter, she argues that the incompatibility of the paradigms underlying different methods may well generate insoluble problems, or that different sources of data may not 'add up' to a neat and coherent whole (Mason 2006).[26] Moreover, it can be difficult to plan and execute mixed methods research for any number of reasons which may not exist to the same degree, if at all, in mono-method approaches: particularly in collaborative mixed methods research, questions of interdisciplinary backgrounds, resources, and the politics of authority and power can shape a researcher's ability to plan, conduct and analyse the results of a research project (Mason 2006).

The research that formed the basis of this thesis was originally conceived of as a mixed methods project in several of the senses discussed above. It was to be a three-stage project in which analysis of a large set of secondary data (from HESA) would illuminate macro-level patterns and trends of academic staff mobility and other population characteristics. Analysis of this data would inform the construction of a survey questionnaire which would explore and attempt to map in more depth some of the patterns and trends that had been revealed. In turn, the survey would guide the development of an interview frame designed to place the quantitative data in the qualitative contexts of individual lives and careers. Moreover, the sampling for the survey and interview phase would be informed by analysis of previous phases; a feature of mixed methods research identified by Brannen (2005). It was, therefore, to be a processual sort of integration of methods and analysis; a 'drilling down' from the macro to the micro and identifying the relationships between the two.

[25] Elsewhere Mason discusses the different ways in which mixed methods can be integrated: technically, ontologically, at the level of knowledge and evidence or at the level of explanation (Mason 2002, pp. 34-36).

[26] The fact that different methods can generate disharmonious data might well be seen as a strength of mixed methods: rather than straightforwardly confirming an explanation or theory through triangulation, the mixed methods researcher may be forced to review, revise or abandon her explanation and, in the process, devise 'superior explanations of the observed social phenomena' (Johnson et al. 2007).

Ultimately, however, the survey phase was not carried out. This is discussed in more detail below, but here it is enough to say that it disrupted the planned link between the first (secondary data analysis) phase and the third (interview) phase of the study. For this and other reasons also discussed below, for example, the sampling strategy did not reflect what might be considered integrated mixed approach. Nevertheless, the link between the two sources of data remained. It was therefore still possible to explore, through the interviews, key features of the secondary data; it was also possible to use the secondary data to put the interviews in context. In this sense the study remained mixed methods in a fruitful way, insofar as it allowed for 'for a close-up illustration of a bigger picture, or for background' and 'to ask and answer differently conceived or separate questions' (Mason 2006, pp. 3, 4).

Questions and Methods

An important caveat to raise at this point is that to some extent my research strategy was shaped and limited, yet also enhanced, by two factors connected to the context in which it was undertaken: the first is that it was linked to (though not subsumed within) a broader project; the second is that it was carried out collaboratively. A third, rather different, consideration relates to interdisciplinarity, which I will address below when I comment on the literature review. First I will make a few comments about the Grounded Theory method,[27] before outlining the ways in which my three central questions were developed into sets of questions which demanded particular types of evidence and methods of data collection.

A note on linked and collaborative research

I initially came up to the University of Liverpool to work with Professor Ackers' research group[28] on an evaluation of the Marie Curie researcher mobility programme. This work provided a valuable orientation into academic work in general and to questions of mobility in academic careers in particular. Throughout this period I was developing my own project, influenced of course by the Marie Curie work but more so by my own sense that place – particularly institutional – was more significant than was recognised in the literature. After my first year, and order to explore some of these ideas, I embarked on the pilot study outlined below, which led me to a research design with quite a strong comparative institutional focus in keeping with my thinking around place.

[27] Grounded Theory is a broad school and includes work which is more or less theoretical, and might easily have sat within the methodology section. Here I focus on the prescriptions for methods of social research to the extent that they informed my approach.
[28] At that time the European Law and Policy Research Group (ELPRG)

At around this time the research group began a project on the internationalisation of academic staffing at the University of Liverpool which in many ways extended my own plan, and so it made sense to link the two together. This had many very positive impacts for my research. As a time-limited and funded project, the data collection had to begin quickly, which it did, and with a team of four researchers the interviews were arranged and conducted at a far faster pace than I could have managed alone. Importantly, the interviews were based largely on the themes and questions I had developed in the light of the pilot study, so they fed directly back into my research. In addition, a large data set purchased from the UK's Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) was made available to me. This data was expensive and extensive; I could not have undertaken the analysis for either the internationalisation project or my own PhD without it.

A further advantage was that two institutional sites were quickly selected and contacted; access was granted both to the institutions and to academics and key stakeholders within them, with Professor Ackers playing a key role. Although I had planned to locate the research elsewhere I was nevertheless very happy with the institutions that were chosen. Their specific characteristics will be discussed below, but suffice it to say that they represented interesting and different examples of internationalisation in practice and policy. Moreover, neither was part of the elite group of Oxbridge and London intuitions whose reputations and geographies dominate both academic and policy discourses, and flows of internationally mobile academics, and which I had wanted to avoid.

A final advantage – of my experience in general – was that it was very much an apprenticeship. I was immersed in the practice of academic research work, its practices and politics, and pitfalls right from the beginning. I had access to networks and experiences that are not available to most doctoral candidates. These experiences included access to organisations, people and events both within and outside academia: for example, through the Marie Curie project: European Commissioners in Brussels and the private consultant research sector in the UK; and through various other of Professor Ackers' activities, policy makers in the UK. I had constant access not only to Professor Ackers but to a number of experienced researchers who modelled good practice and offered invaluable advice on my PhD and my career.

A complete account of the process, however, would have to acknowledge some of the challenges associative with the linked, or more specifically the collaborative, mode of data collection in this case. The main challenge was the need to surrender a degree of control over the research process. Whilst a team approach definitely expedited the data collection, it meant that I had less influence on the sampling. At the time I felt this was an issue because it seemed to break the link between what the HESA data revealed about the nationalities and disciplines of non-UK staff, and the sample of staff we actually interviewed. In addition, a number of the interviews from the second research site

were lost due to a technical problem, which resulted in my sample being dominated by respondents from the first site. Again, this impacted my strategy in that it brought the comparative dimension into question.

These issues were not insurmountable and, in fact, shaped my research and my 'apprenticeship' in some quite positive ways. For one thing, social research is always, to some extent, pragmatic – particularly in collaborative and/or commissioned research. I was, admittedly, approaching the data collection phase of my research slowly and over-cautiously; yet once the group became involved it was done surprisingly quickly. The project generated some very rich data which could have been used in different ways to write different PhDs, though I elected to pursue the themes I had been working on. With the abandonment of the survey phase and the loss of the interview data, the particular sample I ended up with did not entirely nor in an obvious way address the questions I had initially had in mind. They were still relevant, but they demanded something of a reorientation from an academic careers perspective to more of a whole-life approach in my analysis. Again, this was not necessarily problematic, and I was conscious that in any large research project, particularly a doctorate, unanticipated factors can affect the process, data, analysis and final product in unexpected and significant ways.

A note on Grounded Theory

To some extent I planned and carried out a Grounded Theory strategy (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1998). I undertook constant comparison of data from all sources throughout the process, I did not set out to test a theory, and my literature review was an important and ongoing part of my approach. At the same time, neither my sampling nor my analysis rigidly conformed to a Grounded Theory prescription. Nevertheless, to the extent that my research was informed by and reflected some elements of this approach, it is worth commenting on.

For grounded theorists research begins with the exploration of a problem through the collection of data; the aim being 'the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research' (Glaser & Strauss 1967, p. 2). It is a mostly qualitative approach[29] which aims for reliability based on the rigorous link between method and theory. However, there is no single Grounded Theory position, with its original ontologically realist foundations later diversifying to encompass more constructivist approaches (Charmaz 2003; Corbin & Strauss 1990). A central feature of Grounded Theory is the reversal of the conventional approach to social research which, prior to its emergence,

[29] Only *mostly* qualitative: although interviews and textual analysis is central to Grounded Theory, there is broader sense in which anything encountered by the researcher in the course of a study is legitimate data (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

had been characterised by theory testing. In contrast, the early phases of a Grounded Theory research project should be as free as possible from predetermining theory.

Grounded Theory research is characterised by the collection of data (primarily through interviews), which is subjected to a constant comparison. Through this constant comparison, themes are identified, grouped, and expanded in to concepts which then are used to generate theoretical explanation (Corbin & Strauss 1990; Strauss & Corbin 1998); it therefore merges data collection and analysis in a single process. In this process of collecting and analysing data, the researcher aims for a 'saturation' of emerging analytical codes, understood as the point at which no new insights can be added through further investigation. Saturation is achieved through theoretical sampling: the identification of both the kinds of data that will add to a study and the sources of that data (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Alternatively, theoretical sampling is used to pursue an interesting result that emerges from an initially quite random selection of interviewees (Corbin & Strauss 1990). In this sense Grounded Theory is pragmatic and open-ended.

Identifying the questions and the data requirements

I have shown how I arrived at my interest in the field of international mobility in academic careers, and the importance of place in this mobility. I articulated the research questions in a general way earlier, and in order to extract a more researchable set of specific questions I have reported that I conducted a small-scale pilot study at the end of my first year. One reason for the pilot study was to identify whether and what kinds of 'internationalisation' discourses were being deployed by the university or other local organisational or government stakeholders that might impinge on the practices of academic staff; and, secondly, to explore the degree to which these discourses were a factor in the mobility decisions and practices of non-UK citizen staff. Therefore I first undertook a desk study of policy, strategy and media documents available online; and I also contacted organisations who sent additional material. In addition to the University of Liverpool, the organisations which appeared to be active in this area included Liverpool First, the Mersey Partnership, the Northwest Regional Development Agency, and the Liverpool Shanghai Partnership. This was not an exhausted list of possible sources, but adequate given the scope and time available.

Secondly, I contacted the human resources department at the University of Liverpool, who supplied me with their most recent data, based on the information they supply to HESA, of the profile non-UK staff across the institution. From this data I was able to see, for example, the nationality profiles of non-UK staff, their disciplinary homes and their teaching and/or research responsibilities – this last characteristic in comparison to UK citizen academic staff. Thirdly, I conducted seven qualitative interviews with non-UK citizen academics. Some of these interviewees were suggested to me my

supervisors Prof Ackers and Dr Waters, a couple through another person I had made acquaintance with at the university through a shared interest in internationalisation, and one person I identified by looking at a staff list and making speculative contact because his staff profile page indicated he was not a UK-citizen. The interviews were relatively unstructured and explored the themes of mobility and place in the professional and personal biographies of the interviewees.

My intention was to record, transcribe and analyse the interviews in the qualitative analysis software, NVIVO. However, several of the interviews declined to be recorded and the recording device failed to record another. For these and other reasons I ended up with two full transcripts and reconstructions (or 'pen portraits') for the others, which I entered into NVIVO. The pilot study was extremely useful in identifying some of the key themes that looked likely to be significant in the main project, and also in challenging some of my own preconceptions about what I might find to be significant.

Two major outcomes of the pilot were: firstly that I would need to keep an open mind about why and in what ways place was significant in the mobility of academics, and how this related to policy at a local or regional level. Indeed, my exploration of policy disclosed only very general points about locating Liverpool in an international context, with little or no reference to the university or its staff. The second outcome was that non-professional factors emerged as more significant than I had anticipated. Mobile academics, in fact, did not appear to be narrowly professional units of analysis but rather they were embedded in families and communities. This led me to rethink my approach to the literature review and to expand it to include literature on migration and the highly skilled more generally.

I returned to my questions and reviewed them with reference to Mason's (2002) chart for linking research questions with data sources and methods, and the practical and ethical issues associated with them (see Figure 3). I made a very minor modification to the chart in that I divided the research questions into the three themes of international mobility, internationalisation of higher education and place, for which I added a column. The full table is presented in Appendix 1.

Figure 3. Methodology: questions, data collection strategies, justifications and issues

Question Set	Research Questions	Data Sources/Sampling	Justification	Practicalities	Ethical Issues
1	A	HESA data. Interviews.	Illustrate patterns. Life course mobility.	Cost. Access.	- Anonymity.
	B				
	C				

The three broad questions I initially posed are reiterated below, with the sub-questions they generated for practical research purposes.

1. *How do non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education system practise mobility (internationally and inter-institutionally)?*
    a. How (when and under what circumstances) do they enter the English higher education system?
    b. How and to what extent do they move within the English higher education system?
    c. How are non-UK academics distributed across disciplines, institutions and regions in England?
2. *How do non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education system experience mobility?*
    a. Why do they enter the English higher education system (and why England and not elsewhere)? What are the incentives and/or obstacles?
    b. What are the impacts of international mobility on the careers of non-UK academics?
    c. What are the non-professional considerations that shape, constrain, enable or incentivise mobility?
    d. How do they engage with internationalization and mobility more broadly (in their institutions, their careers and their personal lives?
3. *What can these practices and experiences tell us about the English sector (and specific locations and institutions) in an international context?*
    a. Where do they come from (geographically)?
    b. What is the significance of places of origin and destination in their mobility?
    c. What is their profile by age, gender and nationality?

These questions represent the final shape of the research project. Initially it was much broader in scope and aimed to deploy a much wider set of data collection strategies. For example, I planned to locate the interviewees in a much more explicitly geographical policy-discourse context at scales ranging from institution, to locale, to nation and beyond. I envisaged also a fairly comprehensive account of the ways in which data could be used to locate international academics in flows of the highly skilled and of migration more generally in a European and global context. Ultimately it made sense to shift these elements to the introductory and literature review chapters; the alternative – devoting a section of the thesis to a piece of original research – would have been both unmanageable and too analytically superficial to have contributed anything of value to the field.

The data collection strategy was based on two phases, reflecting different scales at which the topic could be described and analysed and reflecting the initially exploratory approach that I adopted. Reflection on each of the sub-questions suggested that answers could be found in data collected by HESA and/or through interviewing mobile academics themselves. The first phase, an analysis of HESA statistics, was designed to contextualise the mobility of non-UK citizen academics into the English higher education system and to map the patterns across space and time according to a number of characteristics, in particular nationality, age, gender, contract type and location (disciplinary, institutional and geographical within the UK). An interview phase was conceived of as a way to interrogate the factors behind the patterns of mobility and geography revealed in the HESA data, and to ground these practices in human experience. As reported above, a survey phase was initially planned to bridge the secondary statistical data and the interviews, though this proved unfeasible and led to some revision of the questions.

Data collection: statistics on academic staffing in the UK

The statistical data I proposed to obtain promised to answer or contribute to the answers of five out of the ten questions I identified. The data would shed light on the timing and circumstances of entry of non-UK academics into the UK's academic labour market; their mobility within the UK's higher education sector; their distribution across the sector by discipline, institution and region; their geographical origins; and their age and gender profiles. Importantly, there would be scope for comparison with UK-citizen academics. Whilst the only practical issue was the cost of purchase and time invested in mastering the software to undertake the analysis (in the event the data was delivered in an Excel file), it was difficult to imagine how there might be an ethical issue in the use of the data.

Although the data was available for the whole of the UK I chose to focus only on the English sector, for two main reasons. Firstly, in adopting a scalar perspective of the geographies of policy, labour markets, population and other factors, it made sense to delimit by nation in order to exclude at least some of the complexity inherent in larger and more internally diverse units of analysis. This is particularly the case given not only the historical, cultural and linguistic differences across the British nations but also because of their increasing policy differentiation (particular in the case of Scotland). Secondly, on a practical level it was simply somewhat cheaper to buy only the data for the UK.[30] One consequence of this decision was that my analysis was not straightforwardly comparable with other reports, which tend to use data from the entire UK.

[30] In fact this was not an important consideration: the data was purchased as part of the funded project with which my data collection was linked.

Data collection: interviews

The second phase involved qualitative interviews with non-UK academic staff from two higher education institutions. A key reason for selecting a qualitative interview strategy is that the focus is on 'depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data' (Mason 2002, p. 65). In addition, and importantly for this study, interviews can also elicit data not available in other forms or, indeed, data of different kinds. Wengraf (2001), in fact, identifies three domains of the social world that interviews offer access to: discourses, objective referents and subjectivity. Firstly, interviews reveal the discourses that shape the understanding of an individual and her behaviours in context. The choice of words and expressions, and of ideas, which an interviewee chooses can be representative of more dominant discourses. In the case of mobility one such discourse is of 'excellence'; mobile academics may engage with this notion in the way they speak of their own practices and experiences. Secondly, interviews can reveal something about objective referents, that is, actual practices. For example, a mobile academic can report on the number of times, when and to where she has been mobile. Thirdly, subjectivities such as attitudes and dispositions are revealed in interviews. These three data types may be entangled in complex way, for example in the way an academic may report that her moves into the UK sector were a product of her own excellence or the meritocracy of the UK's academic labour market.

The different products of an interview are not incompatible then, but contribute to an overall understanding of an individual and a topic. In this thesis the interviews offered, through individual accounts, among other things insights into the nature of global/transnational academic labour markets, flows of the highly skilled, and the relationships between conditions in places of origin and England. This is consistent with Mahroum's call, in the context of scientific mobility, for 'a better understanding of the complexities of scientists' subjectivities' (2001, p. 219); in other words, the factors that drive and shape mobility. As indicated throughout this discussion, the position I hold sees no necessary distinction between the collection and integration of different types of interview data.

Mason (2002) identifies four common features of qualitative interviewing: it is interactional, it is informal, it is thematic and fluid, and it implies a view of knowledge as contextual. Moreover, knowledge is located in autonomous and reflexive individuals, problematizing the notion of data 'collection'.[31] An important question for Mason (2002) is therefore whether an interviewee is a source of data that exists 'out there', in which case the researcher is engaged in 'excavation'; or whether the data is being jointly constructed. Agozino (2000a) goes further than this, arguing that

[31] In this context it is necessary to note again the 'double hermeneutic' (Giddens 1984) of interpreting subjects and interpreting researchers.

even the idea of data 'collection' is misleading; rather we should see research as a process of data 'reception', because all a researcher can really do is '*receive* information from willing subjects' (p. 15).

My own position is that that the interviewer should recognise the co-constructed nature of the interaction, yet be critical and reflective of the roles of both herself and the respondent. Interviewees may be more or less emotionally or intellectually engaged, and they may inadvertently or deliberately obscure or misrepresent themselves and their experiences for any number of reasons. At the same time, the interviewer will bring a range of expectations to an interview that may or may not be fulfilled. However, the interviewer may be conducting a number of interviews and have a good knowledge of the contexts of a study, so should be able to reflect through the constant juxtaposition of prior knowledge during an interview as much as during the analysis.

My interviewees represent a subset of the total number of interviews undertaken for the broader project on the internationalisation of academic work. Over 65 interviews were conducted with academics at two institutions and, of these, 23 were with non-UK citizens. The 23 became the data for my analysis. The interviews were semi-structured, based around an interview frame I developed to capture biographies of mobility with particular reference to professional and personal situations, geographies of origin and destination, and ongoing international activity (see Appendix 2 for the interview frame). The semi-structured format was considered most suitable because whilst framing the interview in terms of the broad themes of interest it allowed respondents the space to raise or explore in depth particular issues they felt relevant to their own cases. The frame also provided prompts and a framework for the interviewers, an important factor given the collaborative nature of the project.

The sample was selected on two levels: the first was institutional; the second on an individual level. I was keen to ensure that the interview sample was drawn from only one or two institutions. This, I felt, would enable the significance of place to emerge from respondents' stories in ways perhaps not always visible in micro-level accounts of researcher mobility that draw their samples from across broad geographical scales. Equally, approaching the sample as academics rather than as mobile researchers emphasised the place-specificity of the policies and contexts of internationalising higher education that shape careers and lives.

Gary Rhoades has observed that there is a disproportionate focus on elite institutions in the study of academic work and careers; and this comes at the expense of a broader and more nuanced perspective (Rhoades 2007). In keeping with his position, a core principle of my sampling was that the institutions should not be amongst the English elite, which sat well with another priority, which

was that institutions should be geographically accessible, i.e. in the north or north-west of England (and therefore well outside the elite of London and the South East). In order to achieve an interesting spectrum of respondents for interview one research intensive, Russell Group (Peakside University) and one post-1992, teaching focused (Daleside University) institution were selected. Both institutions had interesting though different approaches to internationalisation: Peakside University was very active internationally, had a large cohort of international academic staff relative to the UK sector, and had innovative cross-border links and collaborations in the field of transnational education. Whilst its activities and its public profile emphasised its internationalisation, however, it was only at the beginning of the process of developing a coherent, institution-wide policy approach.

Daleside University, on the other hand, had a relatively small number of international staff, yet was well known for its comprehensive internationalisation strategy, reflected in policy across the institution, as well as in a dedicated and active central office for all things international. Rather than a research focus, however, it was very much orientated to the internationalisation of the curriculum, in particular to the extent that it aimed to integrate its large international student cohort and offer a global experience to local students. A more in depth account of each institution is provided in Appendix 3.

The academic population was sampled in a combination of ways across each institution. It began at Peakside University with one of the researchers making contact with ex-colleagues in two scientific departments there. At the same time we emailed academics in other departments, including mathematical sciences, humanities and social sciences to request interviews or recommendations of people who could potentially take part. The sampling at this stage was therefore pragmatic and selective. With my research in mind the team made a conscious effort to target a proportion of non-UK staff, either through snowballing from interviews in progress or through identifying them from their online profiles. At Daleside University the sampling was carried out by another member of the team. A number of non-UK citizens were identified and I made a journey to Daleside University to conduct interviews with three of them.

This approach to sampling generated a set of interviewees in a cross-section of disciplines, although those in Peakside University were more traditionally academic compared with the interviewees in Daleside University, who were located in professional or practice-focused departments. 15 of the respondents were male and eight were female; 14 came from within the EU or Europe and the rest from Russia, Africa and the Middle East, North and South America, China or Australia; only one was under 30 (although she was a doctoral candidate) and three were over 50 (all in the 50-54 age

group).[32] One interesting result of this sampling strategy was that all the non-UK academics interviewed were more or less permanent, or at least free-movers (as opposed to temporary fellows or participants in policy-driven exchange schemes). This can probably be attributed to the fact that in sampling from web profiles and recommendations we were by definition identifying people embedded in institutional administrative or professional networks.

I was happy with the sample though it diverged from my initial plan in some respects. Firstly, the number of respondents from each university was not equal[33] and, secondly, the sampling did not allow for a comparison of disciplinary factors between the two institutions. Thirdly, the sample did not reflect the nationality or disciplinary patterns revealed by the HESA data. Nevertheless, the fact that none of the respondents were short-term visitors allowed the analysis to explore a labour market dimension, which is a relatively unexplored field. It also shifted the frame of the analysis somewhat to a 'whole life' approach, which was ultimately very productive and resulted in some interesting findings.

The interviews were conducted in the workplace in all instances, often in respondents' offices, thus 'locating' the interviewer in the professional life world of the interviewee. This may have had some influence, along with the expressed aims, in orienting the respondents to the themes. However, at the same time, the themes implied a broader account of mobility decisions encompassing personal, social and cultural factors. This was achieved by adopting a broadly narrative approach to the questioning. A narrative approach does not necessarily imply an extended biographical account. Lawler (2002), for example, employs Ricoeur's notion of 'emplotment' to illustrate the multiple functions of a narrative of any length: firstly, a narrative incorporates many events into one story; secondly, it incorporates both for predictable and unforeseen outcomes; and, finally, it encloses a sense of the flow of time between beginning and end points. Whilst for Lawler narratives are in essence an interpretive devices, they nevertheless reveal more than merely distorted perceptions of reality. Rather, 'facts (or experience) and the interpretation of those facts (or that experience) are envisaged as necessarily entwined' (Lawler 2002, p. 243).

The coding frame developed for the interviews was designed to encourage the respondents to talk on five themes in a way that was most relevant to them, and to collect factual personal and career information to assist in analysis. The five themes were:

1. *General work-related questions* about career and educational backgrounds, interests and locations, and the nature and geographies of their field of work;

[32] For more detail see Appendix 4.
[33] However, the proportion of non-UK citizens in the sample we obtained from each institution was probably over-representative of the non-UK population in each case.

2. More specific *questions on educational backgrounds*, particularly the reasons behind institutional and geographical decisions, the degree of international activity and engagement as a student, and the outcomes of these activities;
3. *Current work from an explicitly international perspective*, including types of contact and activity, geographical distribution, incentives, obstacles and outcomes;
4. Current *work which is internationalised in more 'hidden' ways*, for example in terms of the national profiles of colleagues and students, primary and secondary networks, and the kind of activity which is international by default (e.g. conferences) even though they may take place in England; and
5. Final questions about other *non-professional dimensions of mobility and international activity*, the perceived role of international activity and mobility in individuals' careers, and understandings of internationalisation and policy agendas at different scales.

Around these five themes 23 sub-questions were specified, with their own sub-questions in turn to provide prompts for the interviewers.

The literature review as data collection

An ongoing phase of the research, which warrants a few comments here, was the literature review. Whilst often considered to be a preliminary stage, I followed a process in which the literature informed the collection and analysis, and vice versa, throughout the study. The literature review is a central stage in a research project,[34] not least because it serves to:

> 1 place the topic in a historical context [;] 2 identify key landmark studies selecting what they consider to be the key sources and authors [;] 3 establish a context for their own interest [;] 4 distinguish what has been done in order to identify a space for their own work (Hart 1998, p. 29)

At the same time, it has been argued (and this is the position taken here) that the literature review is a piece of research in itself (Crilly 2009). In this view, the process of following references from source to source as the review proceeds is a form of qualitative snowball or chain sampling (Crilly 2009; Freeman 2011). Moreover, for Crilly (2009) the way a literature review is conducted is analogous to the iterative process of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967), but the constant comparison, theory building and ultimate synthesis into a coherent text is based on individual sources of literature rather than interviews.

In my own process the literature review proved to be one of the most challenging features, in part due to the interdisciplinarity of the project. The notion of interdisciplinarity is broad and constitutes

[34] For Hart (1998) and Boote and Beile (2005), understanding what a literature review should be, and how to conduct one, is central to the production of both scholars and scholarship.

a well-developed literature in its own right (Klein 2007). Here I intend it to mean only that a large number of sources were gathered from a number of disciplines, reflecting a variety of epistemological and methodological frames, which had some bearing of the understanding of the problem at hand.[35] Bringing these varied sources together was not a problem of juxtaposition or even integration (underlying assumptions and approaches were broadly social scientific) but of negotiating the large number of possibilities.

Whilst my academic experience prior to undertaking the PhD was quite interdisciplinary, it was nevertheless bounded by what is generally regarded as a 'field' (Kubow & Fossum 2007) or at least the 'context' (Broadfoot 2000) of studies in comparative and international education. In moving onto the doctorate I found myself immersed in the literatures of several other fields that were themselves interdisciplinary; in particular human geography and its sub-fields of migration and highly skilled migration, as well as science and technology studies. Of course, it is important not to overstate the boundedness of disciplines as they are traditionally imagined, nor to suggest my own process of literature sampling was random or ungrounded.

In discovering these several new bodies of literature, I was guided by two aims: the first was to build up a theoretical and empirical context around the study; the second was to follow the topic through the literature to have as comprehensive a perspective as possible on the empirical and theoretical work already done. The first aim was relatively straightforward. It involved familiarising myself with, for example, the work of my supervisors and the literature that had informed them. At the same time I investigated literature on globalisation, mobilities, and academic careers and the sociology of higher education (amongst others) in order to gain theoretical purchase on the topic.

The second aim was more problematic. I identified a number of key terms and phrases that I hoped would lead to relevant sources, and entered them into the library catalogue and databases, and Google Scholar. Phrases included, for example, combinations of cognates such as academic, scholar, researcher, and faculty with mobility or migration and international(isation), global(isation) or transnational(isation). Throughout the empirical phase of the study, ideas emerged that lead me back to this mode of searching, my assumption being that, even if I had not come across an idea in the literature at the point I encountered it in an interview, it was likely that somebody had probably researched and written about it. Indeed, sometimes a literature would be 'hidden' from view until I found the right search terms, often after a long period of reflection.

[35] In this sense my approach reflects what Bushaway (2003) identifies as 'multidisciplinarity', or 'research which brings together two or more single disciplines in a collaborative way but draws down research from the core of those disciplines'.

The main drawback of this approach, particularly in the context of interdisciplinarity, was that it generated a wealth of relevant (if sometimes only tangentially so) work of both an empirical and theoretical nature. The lack of disciplinary boundaries meant that it was sometimes difficult to know when a source was significant or whether it could be ruled out. Literature was distributed across many disciplines, and often appeared unrelated to work going on elsewhere. A problem I encountered early on, for example, was that the term 'internationalisation' was understood quite differently depending on whether an author was working in the field of education or of researcher careers and mobility. In addition, access to such a varied and wide literature gave rise to questions of originality, or at least the possibility of originality and what it might mean in framing my own research.

More importantly, the volume and variety of literature problematised the degree to which the review could be critical, or that it could be an integrated synthesis of the literature representing a coherent 'story' of a discipline, theme or topic. Hart (1998) has argued that openness to intellectual traditions and, in particular, 'understand[ing] the history of the subject they intend to study' is 'a basic requirement for the research student' (p. 27) when writing a literature review. However, literature drawn from across disciplines may be linked only by a single theme and completely lack a common tradition of any kind, making it difficult to 'tell the story' of the topic through the literature. Alternatively, a number of literatures might be identifiable which each has its own tradition. Either possibility throws up the problem of how to construct a coherent synthesis, as opposed to a rather uncritical collection of existing work held together by a structure informed by a tenuous logic.

These problems were mitigated in several ways. Firstly, and as mentioned elsewhere, a benefit of working on a linked PhD was my access to a supervisor and other researchers who were also engaged with the topic. I was therefore made aware of theories, authors and literature that were potential useful and, equally importantly, the significance of these in their fields. Secondly, I audited two courses in human geography in order to orient myself to common theoretical positions in this discipline, and in particular the ways in which human geographers explored and theorised globalising trends. Of course, the most important strategy for identifying key literature was to observe the frequency with which an author or a piece of work was cited.

Whilst it was a challenge, the specific nature of my literature review did nevertheless have some advantages. For one thing, it generated a broad and comprehensive overview of the topic, the authors working on it and the fields and disciplines in which they are located. At the same time, it is not necessarily a drawback to have an extensive literature. Knopf (2006) suggests, for example, that rather than 'literature review' the term 'knowledge review' might more accurately reflect the increasing and increasingly diverse number of sources can be used. It is also a fruitful way of

identifying the gaps in the literature. As Crilly (2009) says of cross-disciplinary reviews in particular, opportunities for originality arise precisely through the perspectives they encompass:

> [R]esearchers may appear to be limited to just discovering, collecting and rearranging that which is already known. However, this might be avoided if researchers can assemble a set of texts that have not previously all been studied from a particular perspective. This might involve efforts to identify themes that are discussed across a number of traditional disciplinary divides, where each discipline has something unique to contribute to our understanding of that theme.

Data analysis: the HESA statistics

The data was analysed in Excel as supplied by HESA, using the pivot table function. This enabled cross referencing of different variables in quite complex ways so that, for example, it was possible to map non-UK academics simultaneously by age and contract type and institution, or to add disciplines or nationality. I was also able to explore the distribution of non-UK academics by groups of institutions such as the Russell Group and the University Alliance,[36] which pointed to the diversity of the sector in general and some interesting implications for international staff mobility. A first phase of analysis was devoted to going into some depth on the staffing at the University of Liverpool, which funded the project to which my research was linked. Although this analysis did not ultimately become part of the thesis it nevertheless informed my approach to the data later on. The results of the analysis were placed into the context of other patterns and flows of academic and skilled mobility and presented in chapter five.

Some points worth noting about the HESA data include that it identifies staff by nationality, and this can only be taken as a proxy for 'international'. Of course, in a country as large and diverse as the UK it is very likely that some of those holding foreign passports are permanent residents or may even have been born and brought up in the UK. At the same time, those holding UK citizenship may be naturalised. There are implications for this which relate to at least some of the rationales of internationalisation of higher education, for example that it implies international networks or approaches to work. Secondly, the data do not distinguish between non-UK citizens who are self-initiated and those taking part in shorter-term mobility schemes or fellowships.

Data analysis: interviews

Immediately after the interview each one was summarised in a brief paragraph[37] to bring out the key features of the respondents experiences and any impressions made on the interviewer that may not

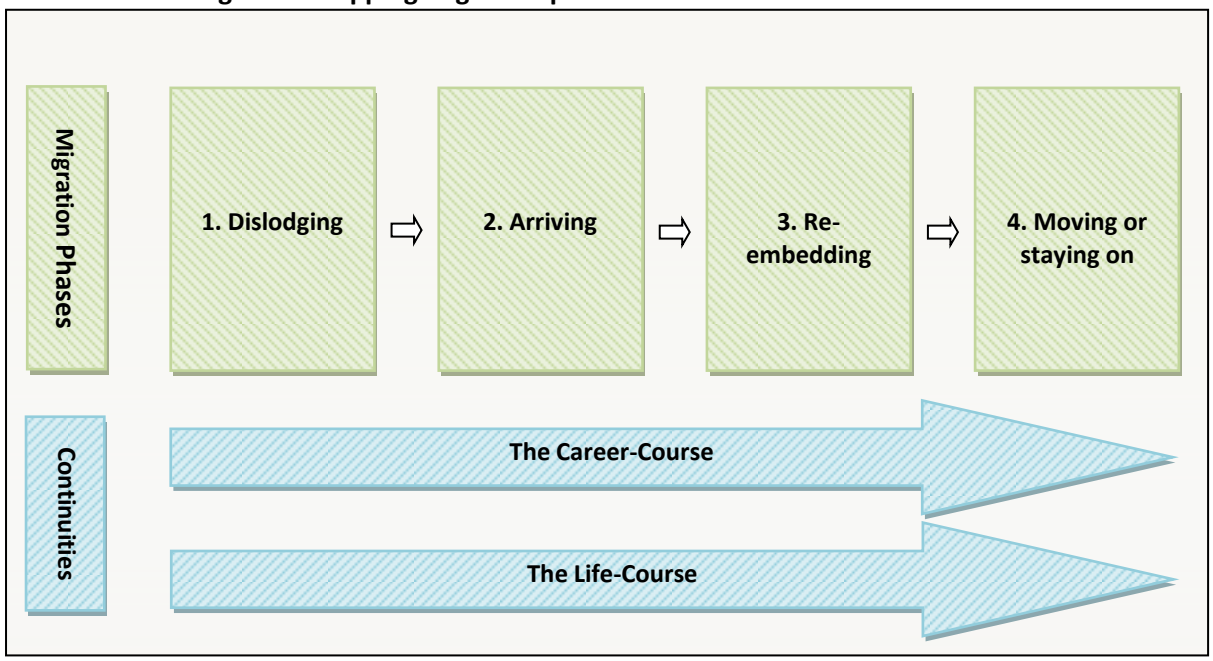
[36] My approach to the data supplied by HESA was to examine groups of institutions according to their membership of 'mission groups'. My rationale for doing so is given in the following chapter.
[37] Campbell and Gilroy (2004) discuss some of the benefits of these 'pen portraits', which they describe as 'a vignette of a particular individual in respect to a specific aspect of his or her biography or role' (182).

be evident in a transcript; for example whether the interviewee was particularly positive or negative disposed to international activity in ways expressed through a tone of voice or non-verbally through body language. Whilst obviously subjective, these elements are an important part of understanding the experiences of subjects in interview research. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed before being entered into NVIVO and indexed in a spread sheet with respondents' identifying features. The coding itself was an iterative process, with first level of coding adapted from the interview frame: 'Memo' (for all objective identifying data), 'Education', 'Personal', 'Place and Context ', and 'Work'. These very general categories became much more detailed in a second, third and fourth round of coding (see Appendix 5). A real advantage of the links to a broader project was the opportunity to discuss the coding, and particular themes or cases of interest.

Engaging with the data in these four levels of coding helped to generate an understanding of how the respondents were engaging with mobility in both the career and personal spheres of their lives. The approach was pragmatic, with an initial theoretical understanding of potential issues shaping both the interviews and the initial codes; however subsequent codes were identified from the data itself. One of the risks of coding is that it becomes so fine grained that phrases or comments made by respondents become detached from their contexts and lose their nuanced meanings (Shkedi 2005). This was evident in my own coding, although to some extent I mitigated the issue by coding in reasonably large 'chunks' of texts. A converse problem is that in some cases respondents may articulate a point at length in a way that makes it impossible to extract a convenient representative quote. Also, during the analysis I returned repeatedly to the pen portraits and the full transcripts to maintain grounding in respondents' life worlds. The objective data on gender, age, nationality and so on were useful at a later stage when I was able to create sets of respondents based on particular characteristics.

When I came to write up my results of the analysis, I based my chapter structure on four themes that I identified as key moments in mobility processes in which the embodied social and professional worlds of the respondents converged. The first involves the factors which lead to the decision to emigrate; the second involves the factors which shape mobility directions and destinations; the third involves the practices and experiences that embed migrant academics into their host contexts (it also includes the ongoing or emerging international activities that mobile academics ground in their institutions); and, finally, the fourth involves the reasons which may lead migrant academics to either stay or move on at a later point (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Mapping migration phases onto the life and career course



This approach has the advantage of both accounting for a temporal dimension in migration trajectories, and enabling an in-depth analysis of key moments as discrete units. However, at the same time, it disrupts analysis of biographical threads which run through every migration phase and affect them differently and to different degrees in individual ways. In other words, an ethnographic account of an individual may yield further insights if looked at as a narrative over the life or career course. Career-related factors such as networks and professional relationships will be constant themes and have different impacts at each stage for each person; likewise, personal factors across the life-course, such as partnering, parents and children will affect decisions and be ongoing yet mutating.

Conclusion

This chapter has, in some detail, explained the decisions and assumptions that underlie the research presented in this thesis. I have shown how my own experiences and practices informed the study and the ways in which I engaged with the subject and the interviewees. I have explored the ways in which I worked through my theoretical assumptions to arrive at a broadly realist approach, and how that approach provides a coherent paradigm for grasping the many and varied experiences of the research interviewees and making sense of both the personal and social implications of their perceptions. In summary, this methodological chapter frames what is to follow theoretically and

practically in the research which was carried out; importantly, it provides the crucial link between my findings and the phenomenon and contexts that I set out to explore.

Chapter 4. The English academic labour market: a profile

This chapter explores the staffing of higher education institutions in England between the period 2004-05 and 2008-09. It is based on a set of data obtained from the UK's Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) for the wider project to which this PhD was linked. The data set supplied was very rich, including amongst other things the national origins, current institutional locations, disciplines, age, gender and contract types of all staff employed during the period. Using the data it was possible to identify patterns and map trends over time, and is largely exploratory. A key purpose of this analysis is to look at the way patterns and trends point to the place of England (and the UK more widely) in international systems of mobility with identifiable geographies and disciplinary characteristics. A second aim is to map non-citizens in the English sector by geography and institutional type. Finally, identifying the characteristics of the non-UK population itself is intended to shed light on the question of who is mobile and what this might imply about the role of mobility in academic careers.

Here I will present an overview of staffing in the English higher education sector before exploring the mobility trends of non-citizen academics into and within the English higher education sector. I will then explore the origins of academic staff by country and global region before looking at their distribution across the UK geographically, by discipline and other criteria. Finally, I will look at the importance of doctoral candidates as a feature of the internationalised academic labour market, and briefly address what is known of out-migration from the English higher education sector of non-citizen academics. Before doing this, I will present a few key findings from existing statistical work on the internationalisation of academic staff in England and the UK.

Existing work: patterns and trends

In general, locating the English higher education sector in broader patterns of academic mobility is hampered by the incompatibility and patchiness of data, as well as the frequent conflation of the terms 'researcher' and 'academic' in analysis. In a recent review of academic mobility data, in fact, Teichler (2011) commented on the 'deplorable state of knowledge' (p. 141) in this area. Nevertheless, there is a good deal of published data on academic staff and researcher mobility which includes England and the UK. Recently, this has included the publication of the results of the international Changing Academic Profession survey which explored the nature of careers in national contexts (RIHE 2009), the MORE project into the international mobility practices of researchers in

the EU (IDEA Consult 2010b), and evaluations of specific European mobility programmes such as the Marie Curie Actions (van de Sande, Ackers & Gill 2005; Watson et al. 2010).

As noted above, however, for the UK there is a fairly comprehensive programme of data collection carried out by HESA, from which English data can be disaggregated. The data HESA collects is regularly analysed by researchers interested in the staffing and recruitment of the UK's higher education sector, including the degree to which it is internationalised. Analysis of HESA data has often been used on its own or in combination with other survey or interview research to explore various dimensions of the UK academic labour market. Findings have include the fact that the UK's academic labour force is growing and increasingly internationalised (HEFCE 2010); that international early-stage researchers play an important role in meeting the huge demand for short-term researchers in the UK research base (Kemp et al. 2008; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010); that non-citizen academics play an important role in filling positions which face strong competition from other sectors (Metcalf et al. 2005; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010); that non-citizen academics play an important role in internationalising the UK's higher education sector, particular with regard to research (Goastellec & Pekari 2013; Locke & Bennion 2010); and that non-citizen academics in produce a disproportionate share of the UK's high quality and high impact research (Bekhradnia & Sastry 2005; BIS 2011; Gurney & Adams 2005).

Mission groups in English higher education

The analytical frame applied throughout this chapter refers to 'mission groups' of universities. Before proceeding, it is necessary to outline the reasons behind my decision.

The English higher education sector is large and diverse. The data supplied by HESA for this phase of the study, for example, covered 135 institutions. These institutions ranged from large comprehensive universities to small specialist colleges, from ancient to modern, and from urban to rural. They also differed in terms of prestige, resources, staff and student profiles, their location within England, and any number of other characteristics. This diversity was noted in a recent report by the Higher Education Policy Institute (Ramsden 2012), which looked at the changes in the institutional composition of the UK university sector between 1994-95 and 2009-10. The report distinguished between institutions according to, amongst other things, their regional location and whether they were general or specialist. It concluded that 'despite a modest amount of convergence in some respects the sector remains highly diverse in many significant respects' (p. 19). Locke and Bennion (2009) went further in their report on the Changing Academic Profession survey, identifying five types of institution: research intensive universities, other pre-1992 universities, post-1992

universities, post-2004 universities and HE colleges. In their analysis of the UK component of the survey they found that academics' working practices, experiences and perceptions mapped onto this typology of institutions more strongly than any other characteristic of the respondents (i.e. age, gender, discipline or contract type).

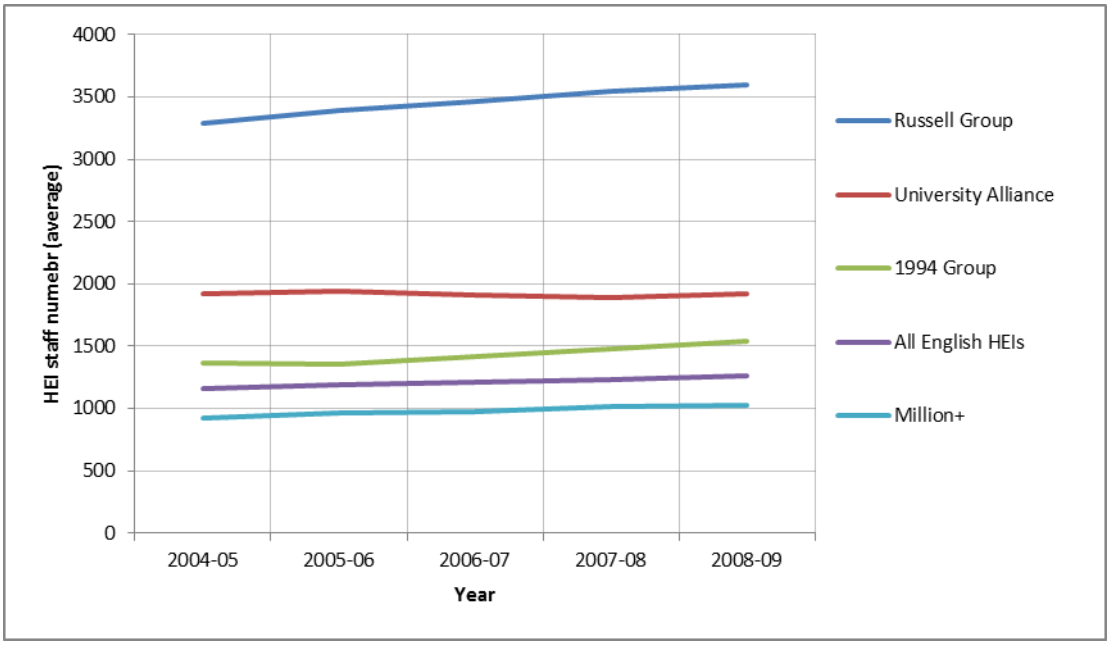
In my own analysis I chose to look at institutions in the English sector as a whole according to their membership of 'mission groups' – collections of institutions with broadly shared values or interests which function as think tanks and lobby groups. I had three main reasons for this: firstly it enabled me to deal in a relatively manageable way with a large HESA data set covering a large number of institutions; secondly, the institutions are admitted to each mission group according to a number of criteria which they can therefore be assumed to broadly share; thirdly, the two institutions from which the interviewees were drawn were members of different mission groups with distinctly different profiles. Whilst the most significant and relevant distinction between the institutional sites from which the interviewees for this study were drawn was that one was research focused and the other teaching focused, a mission group perspective added a degree of nuance to their contexts and the analysis of the data. The potential drawbacks of this approach included that mission group membership might reflect marketing or branding priorities of individual institutions; and that it obscures the many other sources of diversity across the sector which were noted above. Nevertheless, the approach provided a workable and fruitful heuristic for the study.

At the time the research was carried out there were four main mission groups representing higher education institutions in England (in fact the groups are UK-wide): the Russell Group, the 1994 Group, the University Alliance, and the Million+ group. In addition, individual institutions might be members of other local, regional or international groups such as the White Rose consortium of the Universities of Leeds, Sheffield and York, or Universitas 21 which has 27 member institutions across 17 countries. One of the institutions of the study was a Russell Group university, a group of 24 mostly older institutions (across the UK) which enjoy an elite status nationally and globally, are well funded, and which have argued for their place as the 'Jewel in the Crown of the UK's higher education sector' (The Russell Group 2012). As something of a contrast, the other institution was a member of the Million + group, an affiliation of newer, more teaching focused institutions which emphasise their commitment to access, vocational education, and community and business links. Of course, the English higher education sector is fluid and institutions can move between groups or elect to belong to none. Importantly, the 1994 Group of smaller, prestigious research oriented institutions ceased to exist in November 2013 following the exit of a number of its members to the Russell Group.

Overview: stocks and distribution of academic staff in English HEIs[38]

The staffing of the English higher education over the last few years reveals a dynamic and changing sector. Between 2004-05 and 2008-09 the English higher education sector as a whole[39] experienced a 9% growth in the number of academic staff, from 156,270 to 170,504. The average academic staff complement in English higher education institutions rose from 1,158 to 1,263 in this period (see Figure 5). However, growth rates were not uniform across the sector, and can be disaggregated by mission group. For example, in the Russell Group of larger institutions the increase was 10%, from 3,285 to 3,602.[40] Staff numbers in 1994 Group institutions grew on average by 13% from 1361 to 1540, whilst in the Million+ institutions the growth was 12% from an average of 923 to 1030. The anomaly in the figures is the University Alliance institutions, whose average academic staff numbers declined over the period by from 1924 to 1922 (0.1%). These figures mask a fluctuation during this period which can largely be accounted for by a significant drop in the figures for staff in two institutions, the universities of Bradford (-34%) and Salford (-42%).[41]

Figure 5. Total academic staff: all English and mission group averages

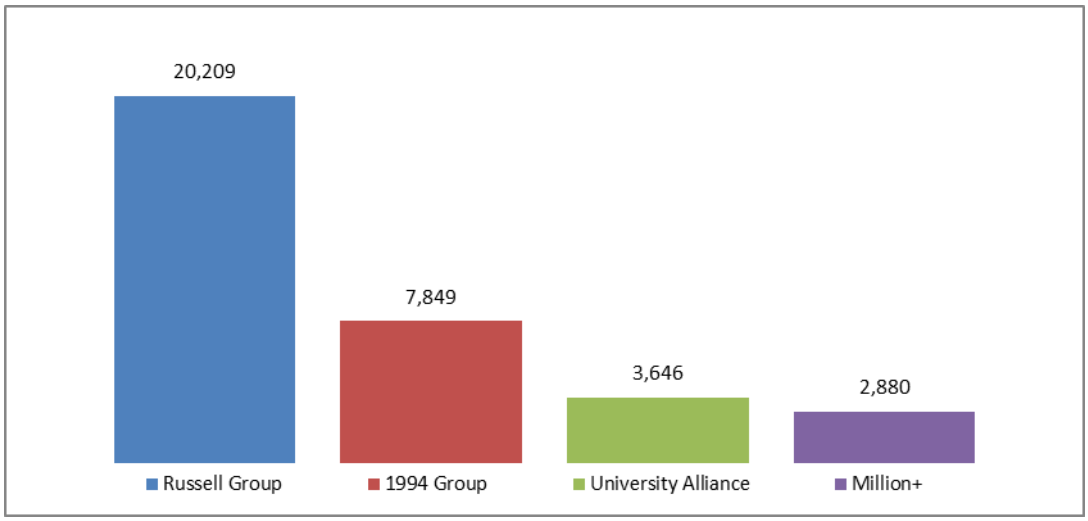


The data above suggests that employment opportunities are located in the larger and more quickly growing of the research intensive institutions. This can be explored further by looking at the data on both numbers and proportions of staff by nationality across the mission group institutions (see

[38] The phrase 'higher education institutions' will be abbreviated to 'HEIs' in headings, titles and in charts and tables.
[39] Defined as the 128 institutions represented in the data obtained by HESA.
[40] All figures here refer only to the English institutions in the respective mission groups.
[41] Data at institutional level may reflect unique conditions or events, or the ways in which data was or was not collected.

Figure 6). The Russell Group institutions host by far the greatest number of non-UK citizen academics, with a total in 2008-09 of 20,209. The smaller 1994 Group's figure was 7,849 in the same year, whilst the less research-oriented institutions of the University Alliance and the Million+ group hosted 3,646 and 2,880 non-UK academics respectively. Proportionally, the Russell Group accounted for 50% of non-UK academic staff in all English institutions in 2008-09 whilst the Russell Group and 1994 Groups combined accounted for just over 70%.

Figure 6. Numbers of non-UK citizen academics in mission group institutions 2008-09



Moreover, this distribution of non-UK academic staff was reflected in the composition of the proportion of non-UK academics in institutions. Table 1 shows the proportions of non-UK academic staff in mission group institutions between 2004-05 and 2008-09. Consistently and by some margin across the period the research-intensive institutions of the Russell Group and the 1994 Group hosted a greater proportion of non-UK citizen staff than their University Alliance and Million+ group counterparts, two to three times more in fact. The Russell Group in particular experienced a year on year increase in its proportion of non-UK citizens from 30% in 2004-05 to 35% in 2008-09. University Alliance and Million+ institutions also increased their non-UK staff cohort, though more slowly and from a lower starting point: University Alliance institutions from 8% in 2004-05 to 11% in 2008-09; Million+ institutions from 11% in 2004-05 to 13% in 2008-09. 1994 Group institutions experienced a steady growth in non-UK academic staff over the period, from 24% in 2004-05 to 28% in 2008-09, although there was a small decline in numbers across many of these institutions in 2008-09, resulting in an overall decline of around 1%.

Table 1. Proportion of non-UK academic staff in mission group institutions 2004-05 to 2008-09

	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Russell Group	30%	31%	33%	34%	35%
1994 Group	24%	26%	27%	29%	28%
All English HEIs	19%	20%	22%	23%	23%
Million+	11%	11%	12%	13%	13%
University Alliance	8%	9%	10%	11%	11%

Exploring the nationality profile of academic staff can illuminate trends in institutional growth. Table 2, below, shows that across all English institutions between 2004-05 and 2008-09 the proportion of non-UK citizens grew to a much greater degree than that of UK citizens. Whilst the proportion of UK citizen academics grew by just 8%, that of non-UK citizens grew by 30% overall. Disaggregating the non-UK citizen staff further reveals that the proportion of EU staff in the English sector grew by 45% and that of non-EU staff by 22%. Interestingly, whilst there is a significant degree of variance in the degree to which mission groups appear to be increasing their UK-citizen staff cohort, there is much less so when it comes to non-UK citizens of either EU or non-EU backgrounds. For example, the proportion of UK-citizen staff increased from between 2% (Russell Group) to 13% (1994 Group) over the 2004-05 to 2008-09 period; the proportion of non-UK academics increased over the same period between 30% (Russell Group) and 35% (University Alliance). Staff of non-UK origin increased fairly consistently across the period also, with an increase in the proportion of EU citizens of between 40% (1994 Group) and 48% (Million+), and non-EU citizens of between 18% (Russell Group) and 27% (1994 Group).

Table 2. Increase in proportion of academic staff 2004-05 to 2008-09 by nationality marker

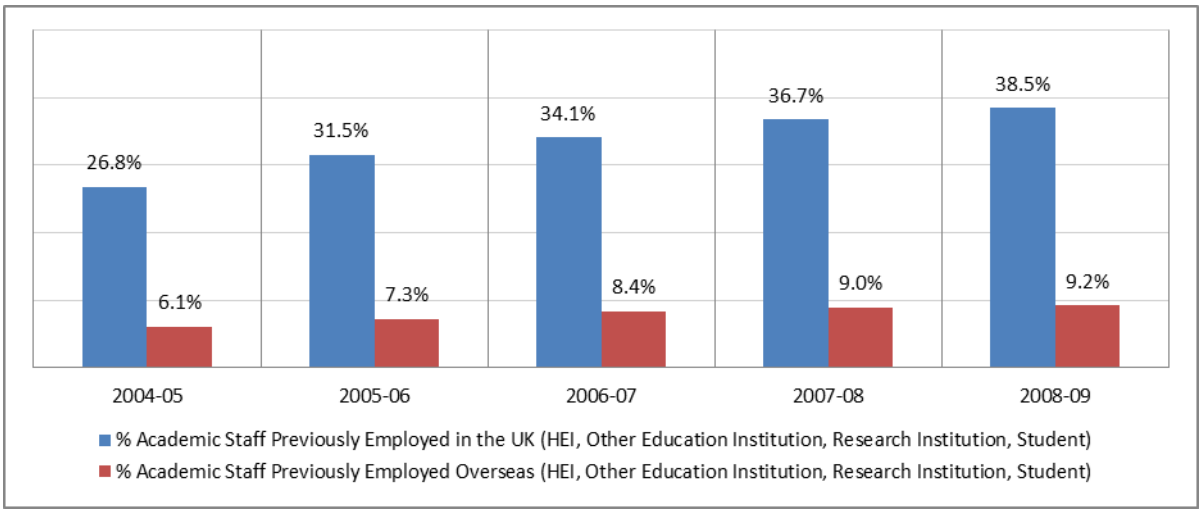
	UK	Non-UK	EU/non-EU
Russell Group	2%	30%	EU 44%
			Non-EU 18%
1994 Group	13%	33%	EU 40%
			Non-EU 27%
University Alliance	4%	35%	EU 45%
			Non-EU 26%
Million +	9%	33%	EU 48%
			Non-EU 22%
All English HEIs	8%	33%	EU 45%
			Non-EU 22%

Overall, the analysis above indicates two things. The first is that, notwithstanding a small number of anomalous cases which skew the data, there was a growth in academic staffing in universities across the English sector between 2004-05 and 2008-09. Secondly, whilst the broad trends of this growth can be seen across the mission groups, there are definite differences when it comes to non-UK citizen academics. In terms of non-UK academic staff, the research-focused institutions of the Russell Group and the 1994 Group have a far greater proportion and absolute number than the less research-focused institutions. Finally, looking at the expansion of staffing across all institutions reveals a disproportionate increase in non-UK academics across the sector, with this in turn being based largely and consistently on EU as opposed to non-EU citizens.

Non-UK citizen academic staff: mobility into and between English HEIs

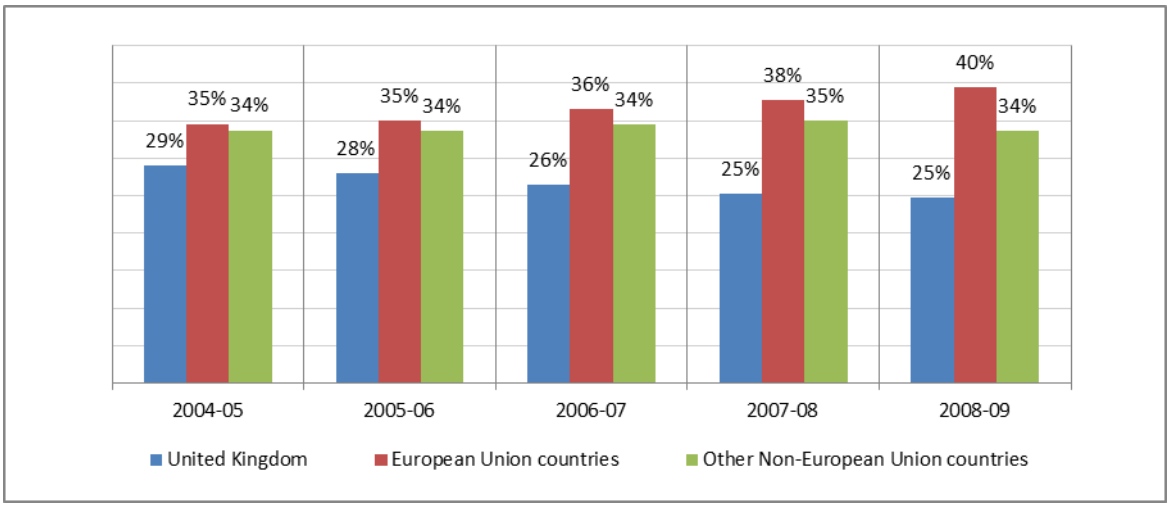
Examination of the data also reveals the previous employment of academics by type and, to a limited extent, location (UK or elsewhere). Between 2004-05 and 2008-09 an increasing proportion of academics of all nationalities in English higher education institutions were previously employed overseas (see Figure 6). Across the sector, for example, the proportion of academics who were employed by a foreign higher education institution, other education institution or research institution (including those previously classified as students) prior to taking up their post increased from 6% in 2004-05 to 9% in 2008-09, although year on year the growth rate decreased. Over this period, the number of academic staff recorded as 'Not in Regular Employment' or previous employment 'Not Known' declined from 54% to 32%, reflecting an upward trend in the availability of data, albeit with significant gaps remaining. Overall, the available data suggest a positive trend across the sector in the recruitment of staff previously employed overseas.

Figure 6. Proportion of academic staff in English HEIs by previous employment overseas or UK 2004-05 to 2008-09 (education- or research-related)



Taking into account only those academics previously employed overseas (from all sources academic and other) and analysing them by nationality marker, a small decline can be detected in the proportion of UK citizens from 29% to 25% and a corresponding rise in the number of EU citizens from 35% to 40% between 2004-05 and 2008-09 (see Figure 7). The number of non-EU academics in English higher education institutions previously employed overseas remained more or less steady at around 34% throughout the period.

Figure 7. Academic staff in English HEIs previously employed overseas (all sources) by nationality marker 2004-05 to 2008-09

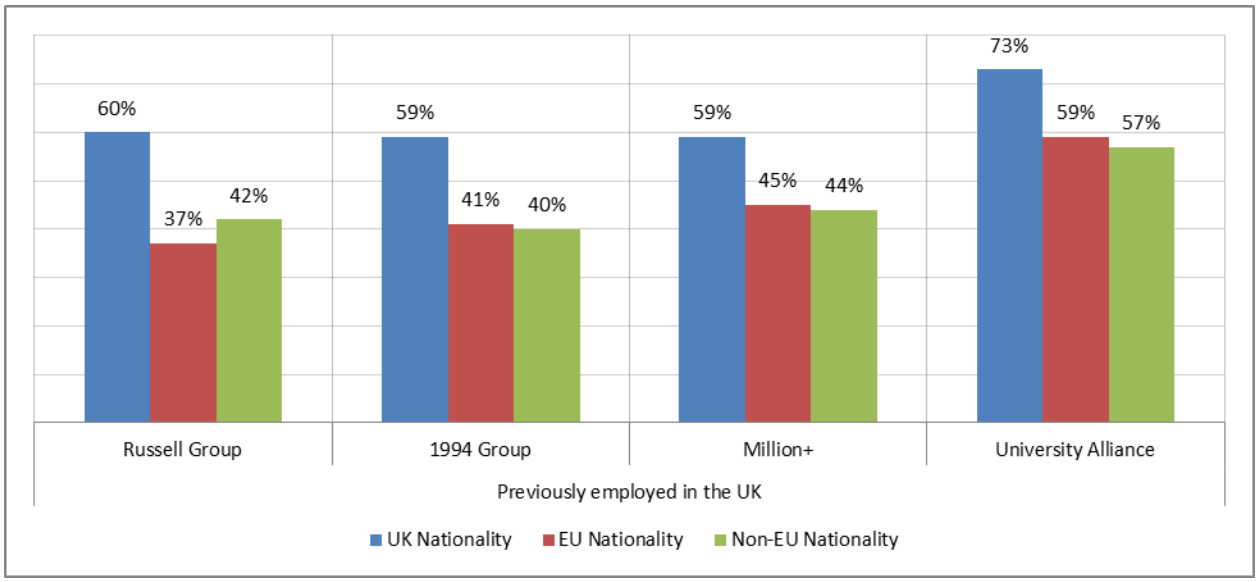


Taking the data for the academic year 2007-08 only, the previous national locations of academics' work can be identified to give some indication of the degree of mobility into and through the English higher education sector by British, EU and other citizens (see Figure 8). A key pattern that emerges is that the proportion of academics previously employed in the UK was consistent across mission groups, with the exception of the University Alliance. About 59% to 60% of British academics in the Russell Group, the 1994 Group and the Million+ institutions in 2008-09 were previously employed in the UK. There was slightly greater variance in the profile of non-UK citizens across the mission groups, but not significantly. 37% of academics of EU nationality in the Russell Group had previously been employed in the UK, compared to 41% in the 1994 Group and 45% of Million+ academics. 42% of non-EU academics in the Russell Group were previously employed in the UK; the figure for the 1994 Group and Million+ institutions were 40% and 44% respectively. Overall, academics in University Alliance institutions appear much more likely to have been previously employed in the UK. Whilst missing data might have some impact on the analysis here,[42] it seems clear that there was a good degree of inter-institutional mobility by non-UK citizen academics within the English higher

[42] The missing data on previous employment is included in the analysis though not represented. This includes, for example, 34% of UK citizen academics in Russell Group institutions in 2008-09. 'Nationality unknown' data has not been included in the analysis.

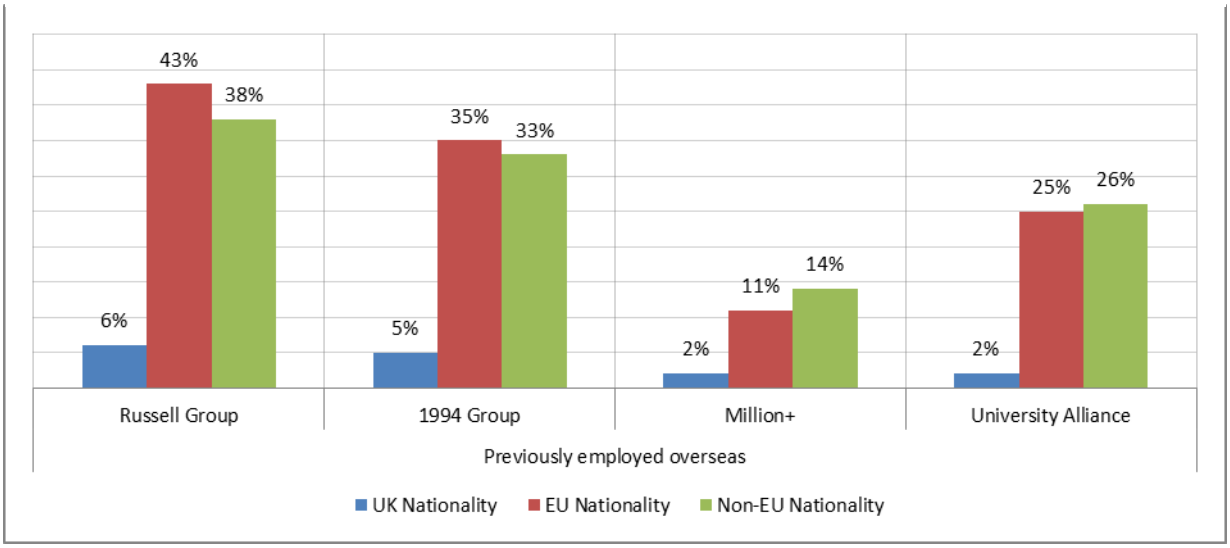
education system. Not surprisingly, the data suggest a high level of inter-institutional mobility by UK citizen academics within the English sector. The implications of this for understanding the internationalisation of staffing and recruitment include that the Russell Group emerges as much more 'magnetic' beyond the borders of the UK than, for example, the University Alliance.

Figure 8. Nationality by mission group of academics previously employed in the UK 2008-09



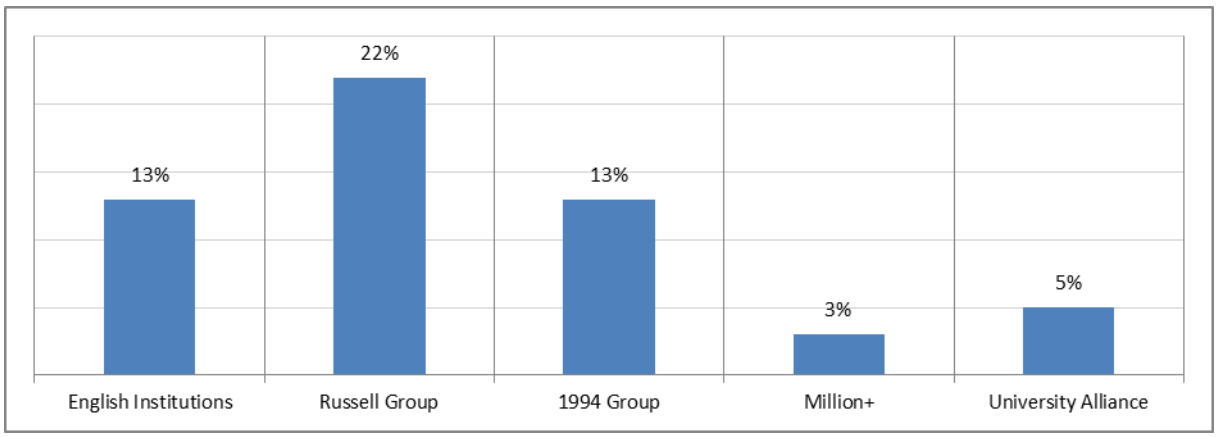
There is more variance in the patterns of previous employment in cases where employment was outside the UK (see Figure 9, below). There appears to be little mobility of UK citizen staff into the English sector from overseas (just 6% of Russell Group and 5% of 1994 Group, and 2% of Million+ and University Alliance staff), although more comprehensive data could alter this figure. Relatively high numbers of non-UK citizen academics in the Russell Group were previously employed overseas (43% of EU and 38% of non-EU citizens), and also the 1994 Group (35% of EU and 33% of non-EU citizens). The figures for the University Alliance are surprisingly high (25% of EU and 26% of non-EU citizens), with those of the Million+ institutions being relatively low (11% of EU and 14% of non-EU citizens). This analysis again points to the number of opportunities (as will be seen below, these are especially research related) in the Russell Group and 1994 Group institutions, but also the willingness, desire and ability of these institutions to capitalise on the skills of incoming academics.

Figure 9. Nationality by mission group of academics previously employed overseas 2008-09



The figures above show the aggregate increase in the number of staff appointed from various origins increasing as a proportion of total staff over time. They can be complemented with data on the number of appointments from UK and foreign sources in any given year to give a more accurate indication of mobility practices. Taking 2008-09 as an example, the proportion of appointments made from overseas sources was 13% on average for English higher education institutions in general and 22% on average for Russell Group institutions. Whilst 13% of new appointments to 1994 Group institutions went to academics previously overseas, it was the case for only 5% of University Alliance and 3% of Million+ appointments (see Figure 10).

Figure 10. Proportion of new appointments previously employed overseas 2008-09



This analysis illustrates the patterns of stocks and flows of academics of all nationalities entering the English higher education sector and moving between institutions in the period 2004-05 to 2008-09. Research intensive institutions, particularly those of the Russell Group, showed a strong international dimension in terms of the national profiles of their academic staff, and the geographies of their previous appointments. Data for the Russell Group especially suggest a degree of fluidity in,

and engagement with, cross-border flows of academics not experienced by the less research-focused institutions. This may be evidence of the role that the Russell group institutions play as 'gateways' to the English higher education labour market.

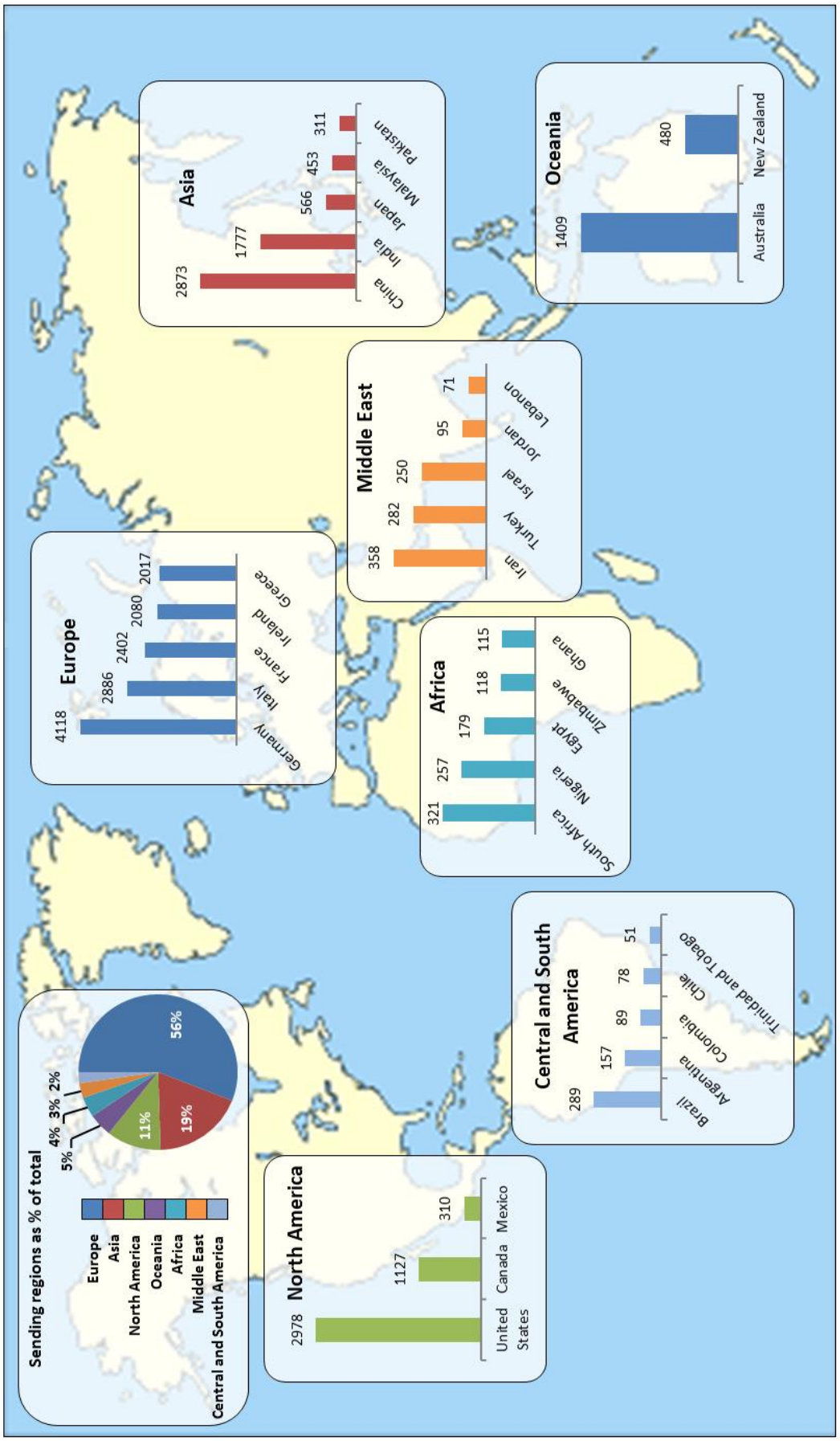
Origins of non-UK citizen academic staff

Flows of academic staff across borders are shaped indifferent ways by regional and global patterns, with the needs and opportunities of the US playing an important role at some scales (Bekhradnia & Sastry 2005; Marginson & van der Wende 2007).[43] The UK remains a significant node in these flows in a number of ways that are reflected in the origins of academic staff in English higher education institutions. Map 1 below presents the origin of non-UK staff by world region and key source countries within each region in 2008-09.[44] Several features are worth commenting on. The first is that well over half (56%) of non-UK academics originated in Europe, pointing to an integrating multinational regional dimension to mobility, as well as the significance of proximity.

The second feature is that Asia was the second most important sending region of non-UK academics; a phenomenon which cannot be explained by proximity or a deliberate, overarching, systemic integration. In fact, there are a variety of factors at work in sending countries which determine outflows to the UK and elsewhere in various ways (some of which will be discussed below). A third feature worth noting is the large number of academics originating in Australia and New Zealand relative to their population size. This is in contrast to the small number of academics originating in South America and Africa. For example, Brazil has more than eight times the population of Australia but in 2008-09 was the country of origin of less than one fifth the number of academics.

[43] These global trends are discussed in more detail in the introduction to chapter six.
[44] HESA data records the citizenship of staff. Whilst recognising that this is not necessarily the same as 'country of origin', it is taken to be so here. The terms 'citizen' and 'source country' and their synonyms are therefore used interchangeably.

Map 1. Non-UK citizen academics in English HEIs by world region and country of origin 2008-09



Over time, the key source countries of non-UK staff in the English higher education sector remained fairly consistent. Between 2004-05 and 2008-09, the same ten countries accounted for 60% of the English higher education sector's international academic staff (see Table 3).

Table 3. Most common nationalities of international staff in English institutions as a percentage of all international staff

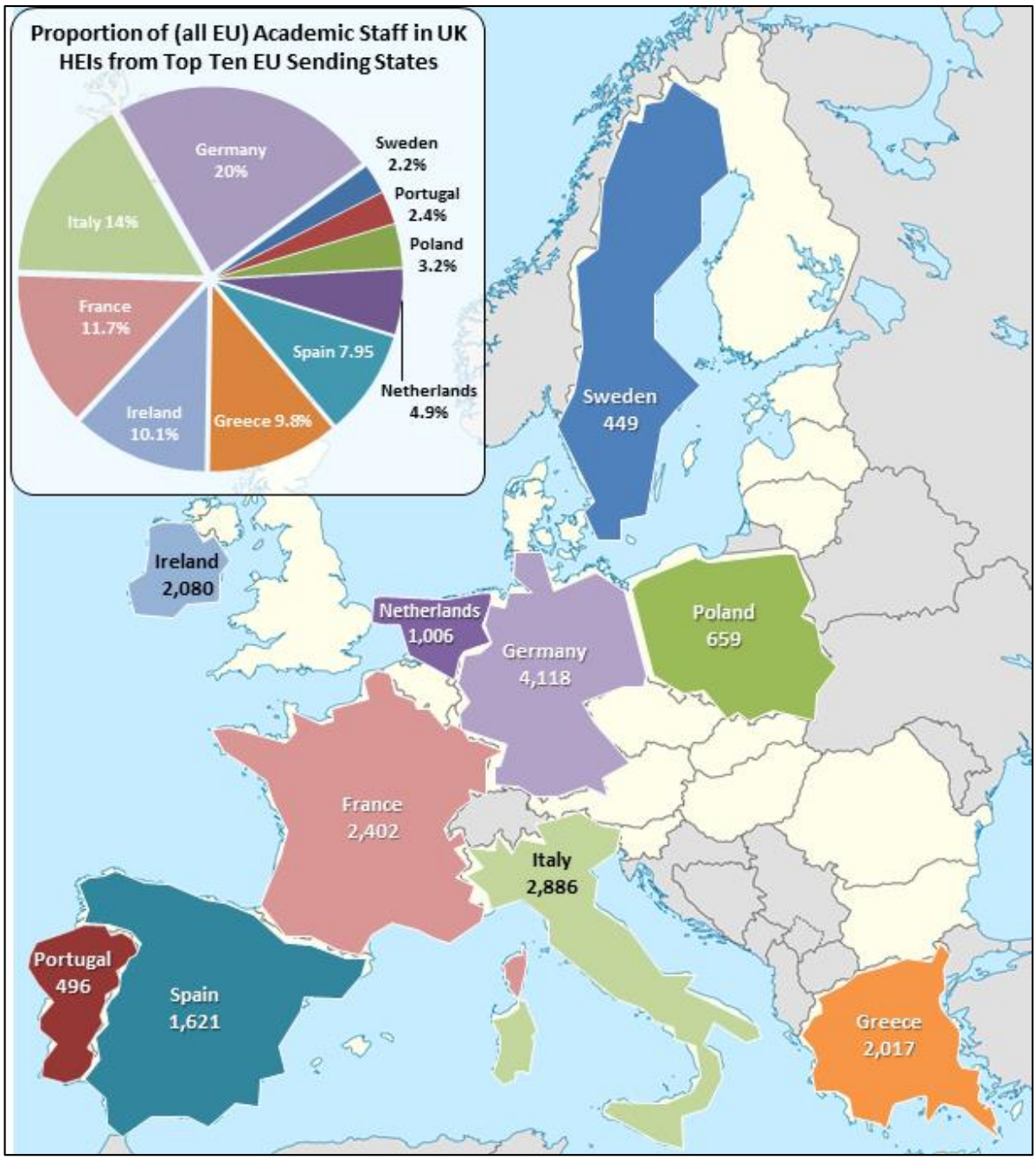
	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Germany	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%
China	8%	8%	8%	7%	7%
United States	7%	7%	7%	8%	7%
Italy	6%	6%	7%	7%	7%
France	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%
Ireland	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%
Greece	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%
India	4%	4%	5%	4%	4%
Spain	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Australia	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Total	**60%**	**60%**	**61%**	**60%**	**60%**

Six of the top ten source countries were EU members, which reflects the ratio of EU to non-EU staff in this group: 37.8% EU to 22.6% non-EU in 2008-09. However, what is more notable is the fact that the proportion of academics from China and the USA is so high, particularly in the context of the European mobility system. The figures for the USA are particularly interesting given the tendency for the US system to receive rather than send academics overseas (Mahroum 1999a; Marimon, Lietaert & Grigolo 2009). The data suggests, in fact, a more circular exchange in mobility patterns between the UK and the USA than is commonly imagined – or, at the very least, that outflows are mitigated to some extent by inflows.

Looking at EU academics in isolation highlights again the significance of a small number of source countries (see Map 2). Fully 20% of EU academics in the English sector originate from Germany and another 14% from Italy. France is the source of almost 12%, and Ireland and Greece account for around 10% each. Beyond these countries both the proportions and numbers become rather small, with the exception of Spain, the source of around 8% of EU academics in the English sector. At the same time, a small number or proportion of outbound academics from a particular country may belie important characteristics of an academic system or labour market. For example, although the numbers of Greek and Irish academics are almost exactly half that of German academics, they

represent a proportionately greater loss relative to their countries' population size. These figures reinforce the importance of taking country-specific contexts into account when looking at the geographies of international mobility.

Map 2 Key EU sources of non-citizen academics in English HEIs 2008-09



Returning to a global perspective, the national origins of non-UK staff can be examined across the different institutional types represented by the mission groups. Table 4 presents the ten most common nationalities of non-UK academics in the four mission groups in 2008-09. The data shows that German academics were prominent across all groups, as were those from the USA and China. Whilst Irish were the most frequently found in the Million+ and University Alliance institutions, they

were only the eighth most common in the Russell Group and the 1994 Group. In general, beyond the cases mentioned, there was no immediately discernible pattern to the distribution of nationalities across mission groups. The exception is the case of Australian academics, who are the tenth most common national cohort in three groups and ninth in the Russell Group. Applying Smetherham *et al*.'s (2010) theory of multiple labour markets, it would appear that Irish academics, for example, are entering the 'replacement' market of mainly teaching-focused and less prestigious roles that cannot be filled locally. Whilst this is true also of the other nationalities, they can more easily be seen also entering the 'funding' and 'elite' segments of research-intensive and prestigious positions.

Table 4. Top source countries of non-UK academics by mission group and proportion of mission group total staff 2008-09

	Russell Group		1994		M+		University Alliance	
1	Germany	3.36%	Germany	3.13%	Ireland	1.09%	Ireland	1.13%
2	China	2.69%	Italy	2.36%	Germany	1.06%	Germany	1.10%
3	USA	2.35%	USA	2.07%	USA	0.92%	USA	0.74%
4	Italy	2.32%	China	1.99%	China	0.80%	China	0.71%
5	France	2.15%	Greece	1.55%	Greece	0.69%	France	0.63%
6	India	1.56%	France	1.47%	Italy	0.66%	Italy	0.62%
7	Greece	1.54%	India	1.21%	India	0.64%	Spain	0.56%
8	Ireland	1.34%	Ireland	1.14%	France	0.51%	India	0.48%
9	Australia	1.30%	Spain	1.08%	Spain	0.47%	Greece	0.47%
10	Spain	1.29%	Australia	0.90%	Australia	0.42%	Australia	0.36%

As noted above, thinking about non-UK academics in terms of national contexts points to the importance of particular features that inform the scale of outflows. This in turn raises the importance of understanding who becomes mobile. These dimensions will be explored later. First, some features of the geographies of non-UK citizen academics throughout the English system will be explored.

Destinations: non-UK citizen academic staff in English HEIs

Institutional destinations

Previous analysis of non-citizen academic staffing in the UK as a whole has tended to focus on and reveal the significance of the research intensive Russell Group institutions (Kemp et al. 2008; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010), reflecting a concern with the research functions of incoming academics. Indeed, the institutions with the greatest numbers of academic staff of all nationalities in the period 2004-5 to 2008-09 were all in the Russell Group, with the exception of the Open University which, whilst having the greatest number of academics, is a unique case in terms of its organisation, course delivery and students. Ranked by size, the institutions with the largest staff

cohort outside the Russell Group were the University of East Anglia (16th) of the 1994 Group and the universities of Sheffield Hallam (22nd), Kingston (23rd) and Huddersfield (24th) of the University Alliance (see Table 5).

Table 5. English institutions ranked by number of academic staff 2008-09

Institution	staff (N)
Open University	8227
University of Oxford	5994
University College London	5581
University of Cambridge	5110
University of Manchester	4778
University of East Anglia	2142
Manchester Metropolitan University	2124
University of the Arts, London	1979
Sheffield Hallam University	1940
Kingston University	1868
University of Hertfordshire	1852

However, when looking at non-UK academic staff, the patterns change somewhat. The picture that emerges is of a disproportionate accumulation of non-citizen academics in Russell Group institutions in and around London and Oxbridge (see Table 6). A clear orientation to the Golden Triangle of London, Oxford and Cambridge is evident in the numbers, with only three of the top ten host institutions lying outside this group. The picture is even starker if the proportions are explored, revealing that all the institutions with the highest proportions of non-UK academics are in the key region, with the exception of the University of Essex which lies only a short distance from London.

Table 6. Proportion of non-UK citizen academics in English institutions 2008-09

Institution	%	Institution	N
London Business School[45]	82%	The University of Oxford	2501
London School of Economics and Political Science	60%	University College London	2237
Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine	48%	The University of Cambridge	2237
The School of Oriental and African Studies	46%	Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine	1923
The School of Pharmacy	45%	The University of Manchester	1485
The University of Cambridge	44%	King's College London	1347
The University of Oxford	42%	The University of Nottingham	1128
The University of Essex	42%	London School of Economics and Political Science	1080
University College London	40%	The University of Southampton	910
London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine	40%	The Open University	893

This pattern is repeated, though not so pronounced, when the distribution of non-citizen academics within other mission group institutions is explored. London or proximate institutions dominate in terms of the proportions if not the numbers of non-UK staff in the Million+ and the 1994 Group institutions (Table 7 and Table 8), though interestingly this pattern is not evident in the University Alliance institutions (Table 9).

Table 7. Proportion of non-UK citizen academics in Million+ institutions 2008-09

Institution	%	Institution	N
Middlesex University	26%	Kingston University	325
The University of Greenwich	22%	The University of Greenwich	273
The University of East London	21%	Middlesex University	235
Roehampton University	18%	Coventry University	201
Kingston University	15%	London South Bank University	193
London South Bank University	15%	Leeds Metropolitan University	186
Coventry University	15%	The University of East London	158
The University of Sunderland	15%	The University of Sunderland	150
The University of Buckingham	12%	Roehampton University	149
Anglia Ruskin University	11%	The University of Wolverhampton	146

[45] Shading indicates that an institution is in or proximate to the Golden Triangle of London and Oxbridge. A case could be made for including institutions within commuting distance to London, for example the universities of Reading, Surrey, Sussex and Essex. Brunel University in West London also has a high proportion of non-UK staff (36%) though it is not aligned to the mission groups of this analysis.

Table 8. Proportion of non-UK citizen academics in 1994 Group institutions 2008-09

Institution	%	Institution	N
The University of Essex	41%	Queen Mary and Westfield College	785
The School of Oriental and African Studies	40%	The University of Bath	518
Royal Holloway and Bedford New College	38%	The University of East Anglia	513
Queen Mary and Westfield College	36%	University of Durham	512
University of Durham	34%	The University of Sussex	507
The University of Bath	29%	The University of Leicester	495
The University of Sussex	28%	Royal Holloway and Bedford New College	476
The University of York	28%	The University of Reading	468
The University of Surrey	27%	The University of Lancaster	466
The University of Exeter	27%	The University of Essex	463

Table 9. Proportion of non-UK citizen academics in University Alliance institutions 2008-09

Institution	%	Institution	N
The University of Bradford	21%	The Open University	893
The University of Portsmouth	19%	University of Hertfordshire	338
Oxford Brookes University	19%	The University of Portsmouth	284
University of Hertfordshire	18%	Oxford Brookes University	268
Bournemouth University	16%	De Montfort University	188
De Montfort University	13%	The Manchester Metropolitan University	253
The University of Plymouth	13%	Sheffield Hallam University	181
The University of Lincoln	12%	University of the West of England, Bristol	201
The University of Salford	12%	The University of Bradford	149
University of the West of England, Bristol	11%	The University of Plymouth	163

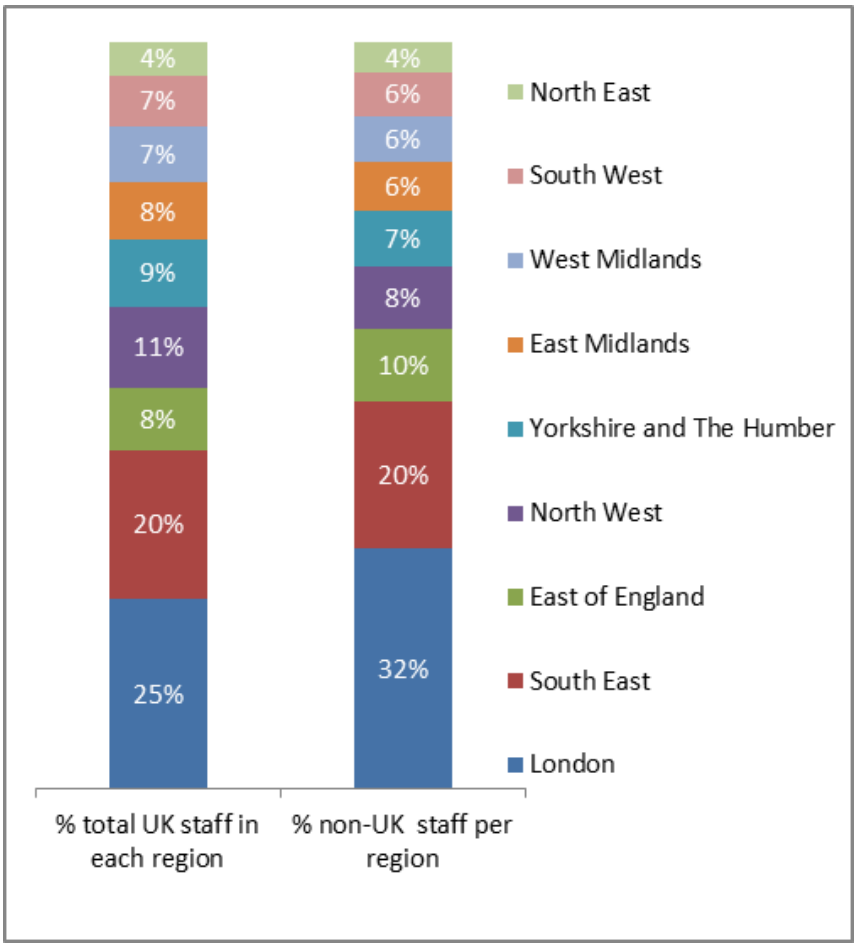
To summarise, the data reveal a concentration of non-UK citizen academics in Russell Group institutions, particularly those of the Golden Triangle of London, Oxford and Cambridge. This is not a new finding, although it points to the significance of a small number of institutions in locating the English higher education sector in transnational flows of academic labour. It also points to the importance of geography, which will be discussed below. Importantly, it is an indication of the importance of the geographical and reputational contexts which must be taken into account for

institutions lying outside this group as they engage in a competition to attract non-citizen academics from overseas.

Geographies

The distribution of non-UK academic staff across institutions points to a strong geographical dimension, particularly in the large research-intensive institutions and the London-based post-1992 universities. This geographical distribution can be explored further by mapping non-UK academics by region. Strikingly, as Figure 11 shows, over 50% of non-UK citizen staff in England were located in just two regions in 2008-09: London (32%) and the South East (20%), with only 4% in the most peripheral region of the North East. However, comparing these figures with the distribution of all staff reveals that only London hosted a disproportionate number of non-UK academics (32% of England's non-citizen academics but only 20% of all staff). This distribution is suggestive of the number of opportunities both academic and otherwise in London. Furthermore, whilst regions such as the North East and the South West may appear peripheral, they conform to a general pattern across the English sector insofar as the proportion of non-UK citizen academics was more or less the same as that of all staff.

Figure 11. Proportion of all and non-UK academic staff in each region 2008-09



Similarly, mapping the nationality profiles of academic staff in each region reveals a fairly even distribution of nationality groups, with non-UK academics making up between 18% and 23% of staff in all regions except London and the East of England, where the proportions were 31% and 32% respectively (see Map 3). The slightly greater proportion of non-UK academics in the East of England region can be attributed to the fairly small number of institutions there, plus the presence of the University of Cambridge as a major centre of non-UK staff. This pattern remains broadly the same when looked at in terms of mission groups and employment function.

Map 3. Nationality profiles of academic staff by English region 2008-09

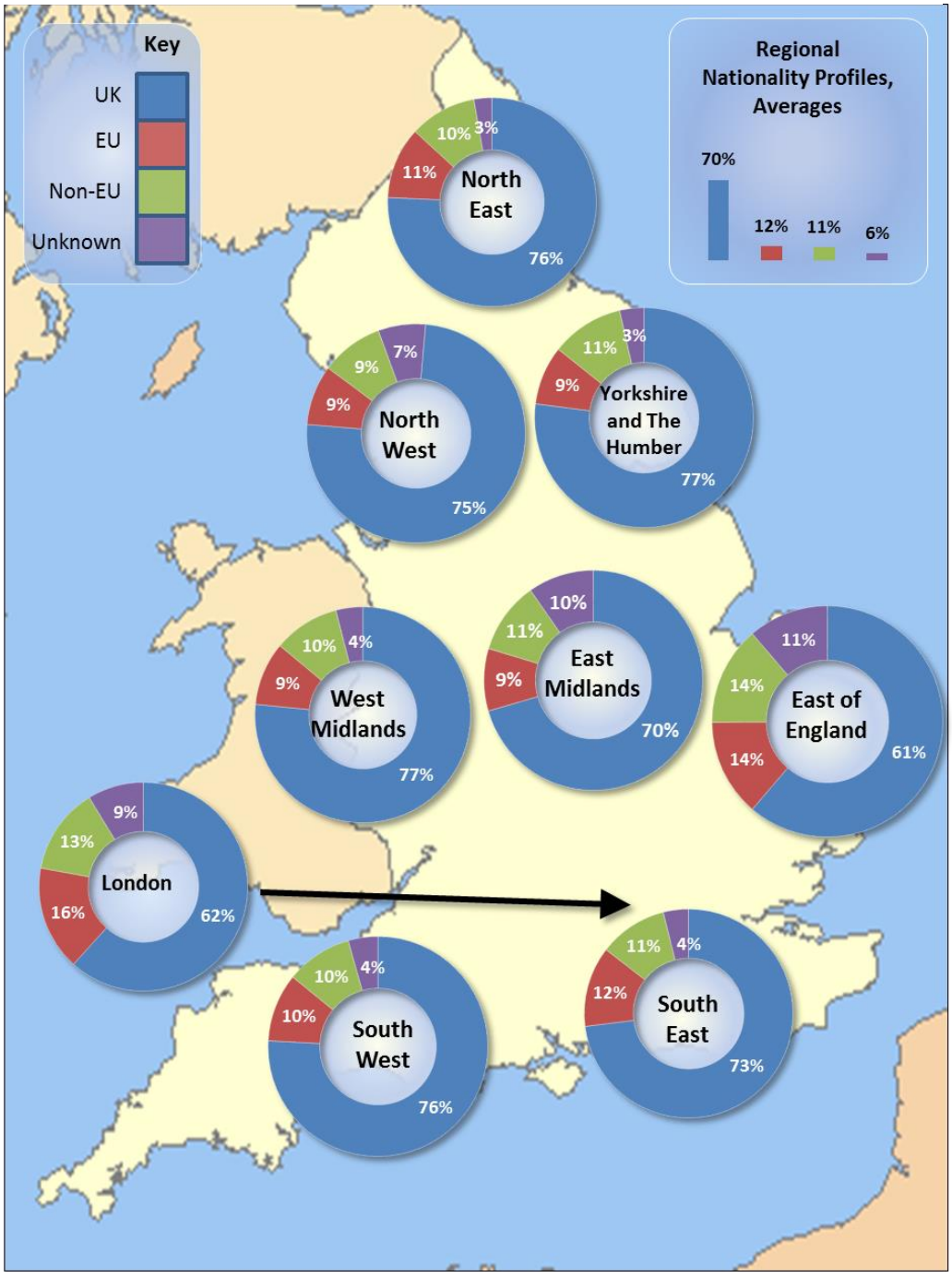
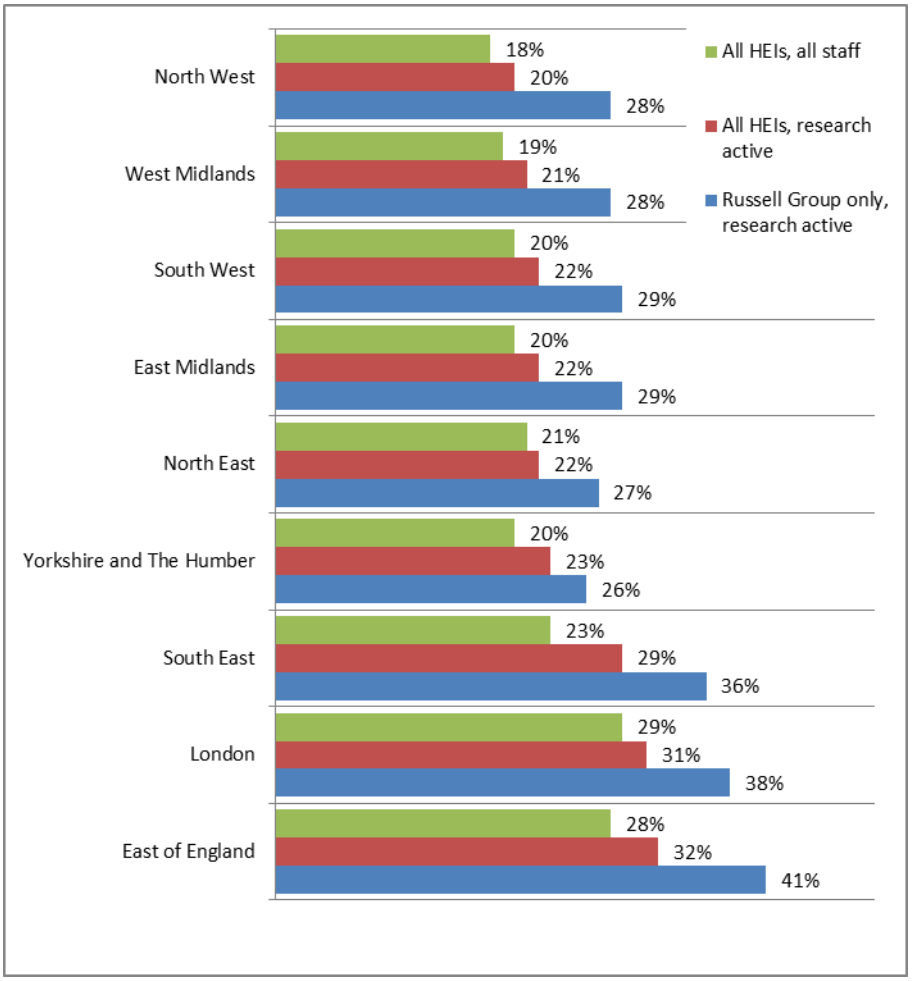


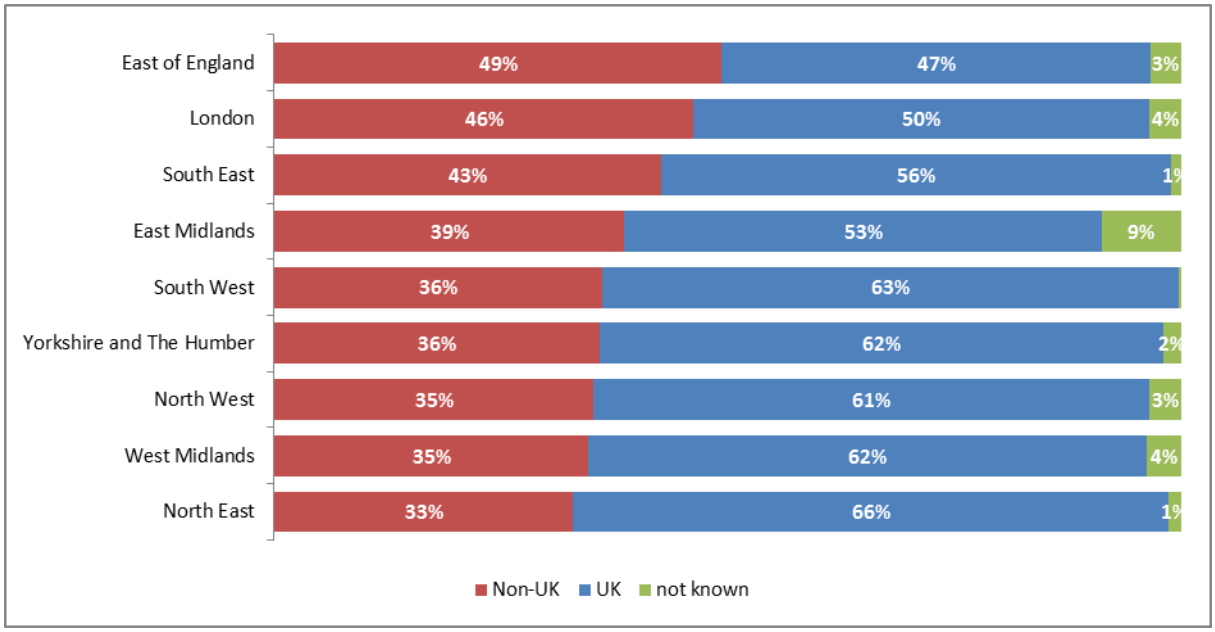
Figure 12 shows how the concentration of non-UK academics changes if looked at according to employment function, mission group or a combination of both. Across all regions the pattern is more or less consistent: in 2008-09 there was a greater proportion of non-UK research active academics than there were academics in general, and they were concentrated to a greater degree in Russell Group institutions.

Figure 12. Proportion of research active non-UK academic staff in English regions for all institutions and the Russell Group 2008-09



However, by far the most striking illustration of the distribution of non-UK academics is seen when only those in the Russell Group on Research Only contracts are identified. In 2008-09, for example, almost 50% of non-UK academics in Russell Group institutions in the East of England were engaged on Research Only contracts, as were 46% of those in London and 43% of those in the South East (see Figure 13). This is related to the prevalence of grant funded, early career research positions in these institutions.

Figure 13. Proportion of Research Only contract non-UK academics in Russell Group HEIs 2008-09



Disciplines

There is a strong disciplinary dimension to the English academic labour market which needs to be acknowledged. Analysis of where non-UK academics were located within institutions throughout the period, for example, shows that the largest proportions were in Physical Sciences (JACS[46] category F), where they accounted for 38% of the overall workforce (see Figure 14). At the other extreme, only 12% of Law academics were non-UK citizens.

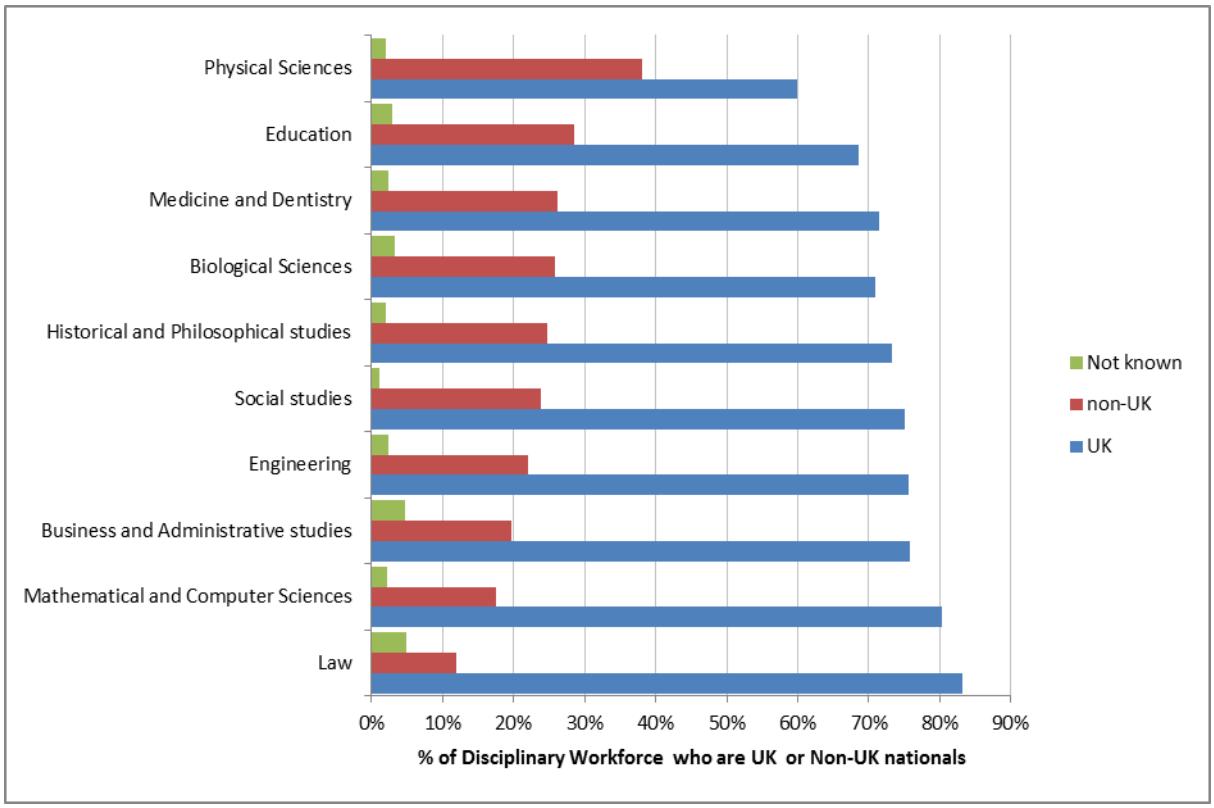
It is likely that matters of language and culture, national traditions and the portability of knowledge go some way to explaining these two extremes. For example, the Physical Sciences rely on a body of knowledge and theory which remains constant regardless of geographical location, and does not demand sophisticated language skills to be effectively communicated. Law, on the other hand, is deeply context bound by national traditions and practices, and is linguistically demanding. However, there is no straightforward pattern to the distribution of non-UK academics across disciplines that would confirm this. Mathematical and Computer Sciences might be expected to conform to the model outlined for the Physical Sciences, yet only 18% of academic staff in these disciplines hold non-UK nationality.

It is important to account, therefore, both for demand and supply by disciplines in different institutional types. The concentration of research funding in particular institutions and disciplines creates a demand for flexible and mobile labour which can be met by non-citizens. Other institutions

[46] In this chapter, disciplinary names are capitalised to indicate the fact that I am referring to the JACS (Joint Academic Coding System) codes used by HESA in their data.

may experience difficulties filling longer-term, Teaching Only positions in subjects such as maths and computer science which must compete with other sectors for local staff.

Figure 14. UK and non-UK academic staff in English HEIs by nationality marker and discipline 2009-09



Indeed, the disciplinary locations of non-UK academic staff can be compared across the mission groups. Table 10 shows the proportions of non-UK citizen academic staff in key disciplines in each mission group. In the Russell Group, and to a lesser extent the 1994 Group, there was a distinct concentration of non-UK academics in the natural sciences, confirming the existence of a research labour market in certain fields favoured by policy makers. This concentration increases and changes somewhat when only research active staff are considered. Table 10 reveals that in the Russell Group in 2008-09 over one fifth of non-UK research active staff were located in the core sciences of physics, chemistry and biology. By the time data is disaggregated to disciplinary level the numbers of staff are quite small in Million+ and University Alliance institutions. For example, the University Alliance figures indicate that in 2008-09 5.5% of non-UK academics were working in the field of English Studies, though this is based on only 33 staff, almost all of whom were engaged by the Open University.

Table 10. Main disciplines (excluding not known) in which non-UK staff are located in mission groups 2008-09

	Russell Group		1994		M+		UA	
1	Molecular biology, biophysics & biochemistry	7.4%	Economics	4.8%	Psychology	7.0%	English studies	5.5%
2	Anatomy, physiology & pathology	5.8%	Mathematics	4.4%	Computer science	5.0%	Psychology	4.0%
3	Clinical medicine	5.8%	Physics	4.4%	Finance	3.5%	Management studies	3.7%
4	Biology	5.4%	Finance	3.7%	Marketing	3.5%	Sociology	3.6%
5	Physics	5.2%	Chemistry	3.4%	Others in education	3.5%	Linguistics	3.4%
6	Psychology	3.9%	Molecular biology, biophysics & biochemistry	3.1%	Economics	3.0%	Others in education	3.2%
7	Chemistry	3.0%	Electronic & electrical engineering	3.0%	Hospitality, leisure, tourism and transport	3.0%	Academic studies in education	3.1%
8	Computer science	2.9%	Psychology	2.9%	Academic studies in education	3.0%	Electronic & electrical engineering	2.9%
9	Economics	2.9%	Management studies	2.8%	Anatomy, physiology & pathology	2.5%	Business studies	2.9%
10	Genetics	2.8%	Sociology	2.4%	Information systems	2.5%	Spanish studies	2.7%

Looking only at research active academics in the Russell Group and the 1994 Group changes the picture somewhat and again points to the significance of externally funded post-doc positions. Table 11 reveals that over 8% of all research active non-UK academics in the Russell Group are located in Physics, whilst a suite of related disciplines including Biology, Molecular biology, biophysics & biochemistry and Chemistry between them account for 19%. In the 1994 Group, Physics is the discipline most populated by non-UK research active academics, followed by Mathematics (4.7%) and Economics (4.3%). About the same proportion of Russell Group non-UK academics are located in Economics (4.1%).

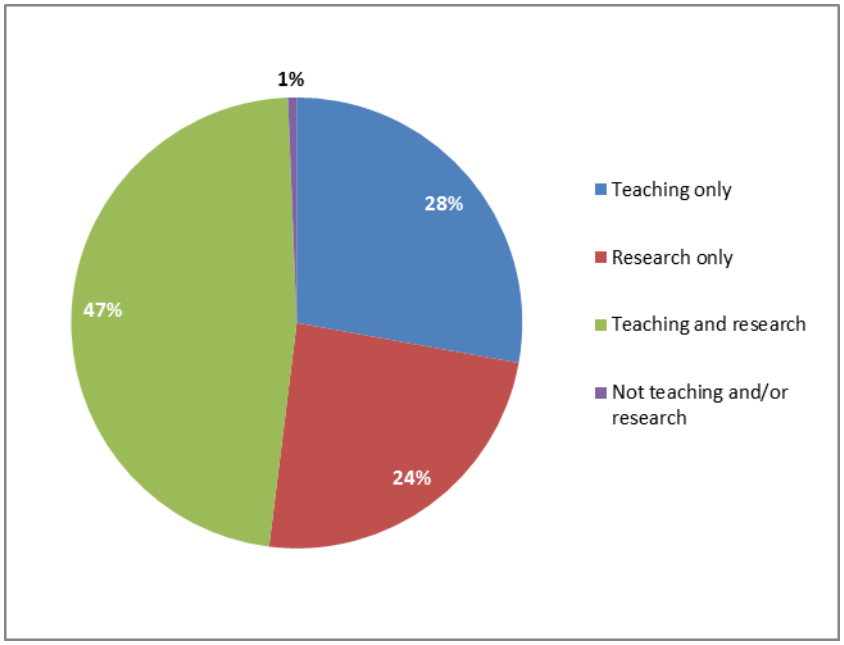
Table 11. Research active non-UK academics 2008-09

Russell Group			1994 Group	
1	Physics	8.1%	Physics	5.5%
2	Biology	6.5%	Mathematics	4.7%
3	Molecular biology, biophysics & biochemistry	6.5%	Economics	4.3%
4	Chemistry	6.0%	Chemistry	4.3%
5	Clinical medicine	5.7%	Molecular biology, biophysics & biochemistry	3.8%
6	Economics	4.1%	Electronic & electrical engineering	3.6%
7	Computer science	3.4%	Psychology	3.4%
8	Mathematics	3.2%	Management studies	3.2%
9	Electronic & electrical engineering	3.1%	Biology	3.0%
10	Psychology	3.0%	Sociology	2.8%

Employment function

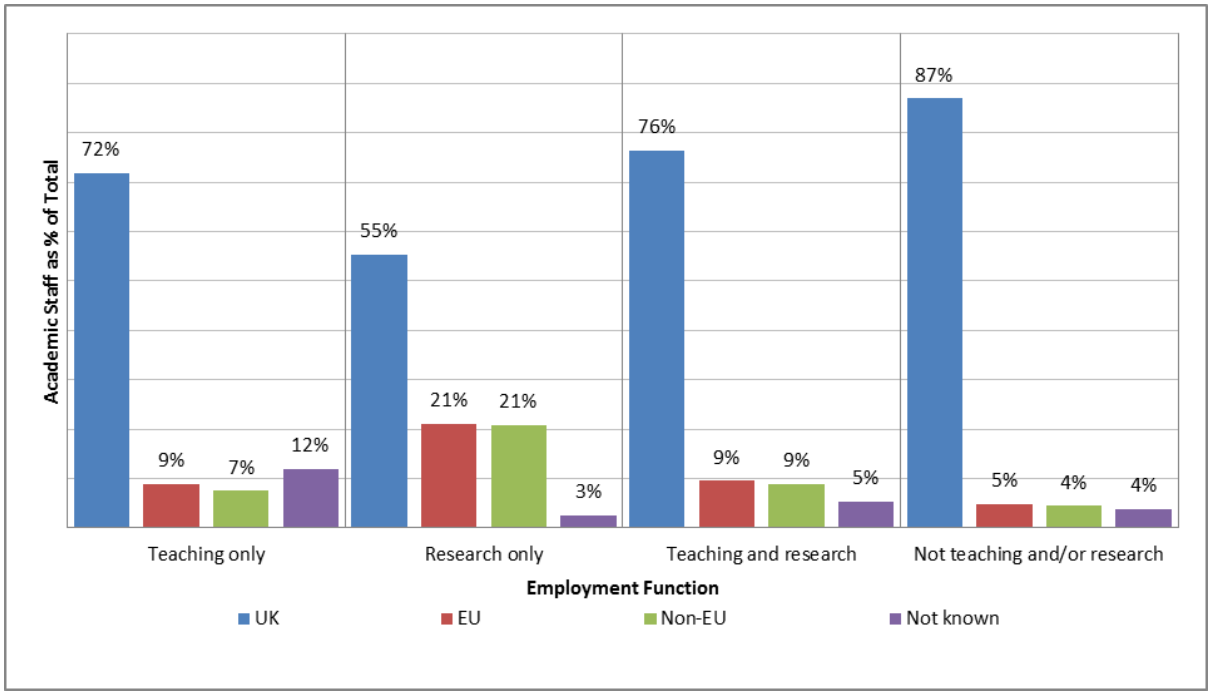
The previous section has looked to some degree at the employment function (teaching, research or both) of non-UK academics in the English system in relation to the way they are concentrated in particular disciplines and roles. Looking employment function of all academic staff in the English sector reveals that the largest number, almost half, was employed to both teach and research in 2008-09 (see Figure 15). These positions reflect the generally secure and 'full' academic roles that are traditional perceived to constitute academic work. Of the remainder, about a quarter was employed in Research Only positions and close to 30% in Teaching Only. 71% of staff of all nationalities were research active in 2008-09.

Figure 15. Academic staff in English HEIs 2008-09 by employment function



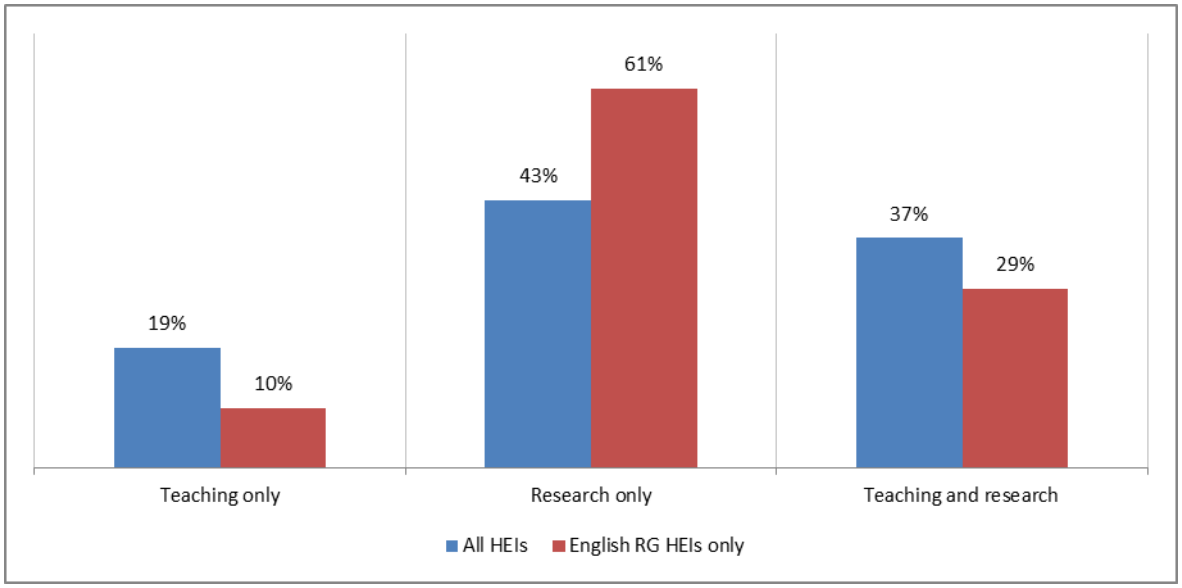
Looking into this further reveals strong patterns in the distribution of nationality groups. Whereas around 72% of Teaching Only staff and 76% of Teaching and Research staff were UK nationals, they accounted for only about 55% of Research Only staff (see Figure 16). In other words, whilst international staff made up approximately just 16% of Teaching Only and 18% of Teaching and Research staff, they are greatly over-represented amongst Research Only staff, constituting 42% of this group.

Figure 16. Composition of employment function group by nationality marker (%) all English HEIs 2008-09



The overall figures for the English higher education sector can be compared against those of the Russell Group to reveal an even greater concentration of non-citizens in Research Only roles (see Figure 17). Over 60% of non-UK academics in Russell Group institutions are engaged on Research Only contracts compared to 43% overall,[47] whilst equally notably the proportion of those engaged in Teaching Only in the Russell group is approximately half that of the sector as a whole.

Figure 17. Distribution of non-UK citizen academics across employment function categories in all English HEIs and English Russell Group HEIs 2008-09



Terms of employment

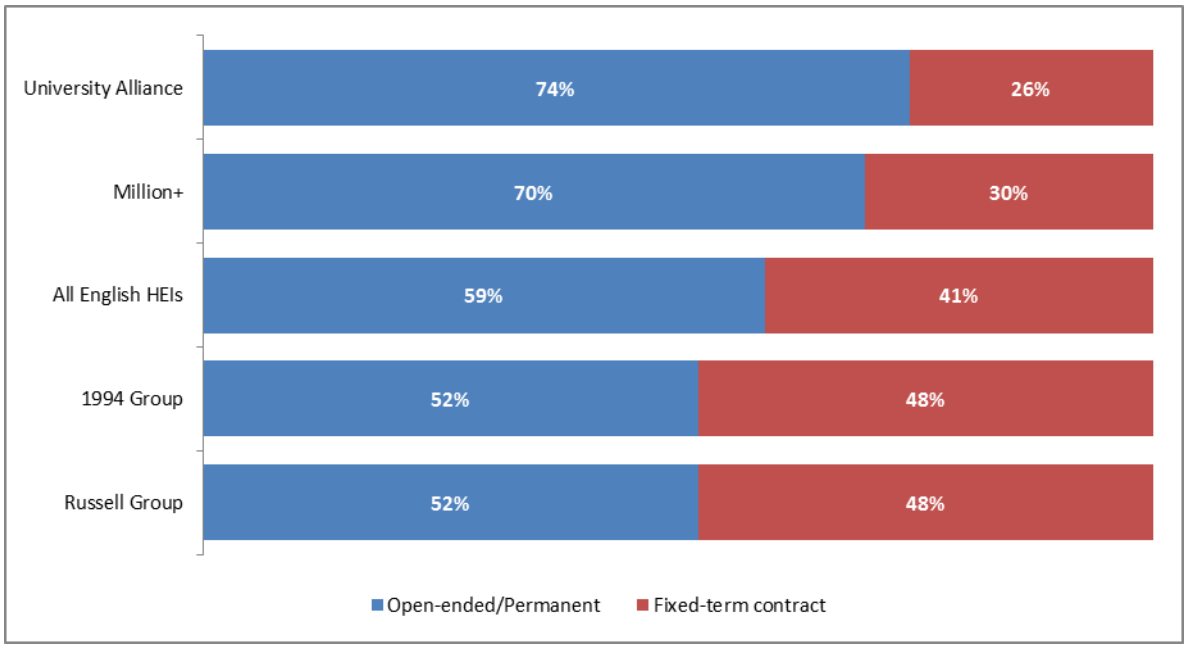
Terms of employment are an important indicator of job security. The academic workforce is increasingly casualised and insecure, with repeated short-term positions characterising longer and longer early career phases for many (McAlpine 2012; Mellors-Bourne, Metcalfe & Pollard 2013; Metcalf et al. 2005; Science is Vital 2011), with growing numbers of early career researchers (particularly in the humanities and social sciences) practising 'portfolio working', that is, holding multiple part-time positions simultaneously (Mellors-Bourne, Metcalfe & Pollard 2013). The prevalence of short-term, insecure contracts both reflects and contributes to the impetus for mobility in academic careers. The English context is explored in what follows.

Across the English sector as a whole 59% of academic staff were employed on permanent or open-ended contracts, and the remaining 41% on fixed-term contracts (see Figure 18). Academics in Million+ and University Alliance institutions were far more likely to be employed on permanent/open-ended contracts than their counterparts in research-intensive institutions. Only 52% of academics in Russell Group and 1994 Group institutions were employed on open-

[47] The small discrepancy between this figure (43%) and that of the previous one (42%) is due to the exclusion in the second case of 'not knowns'.

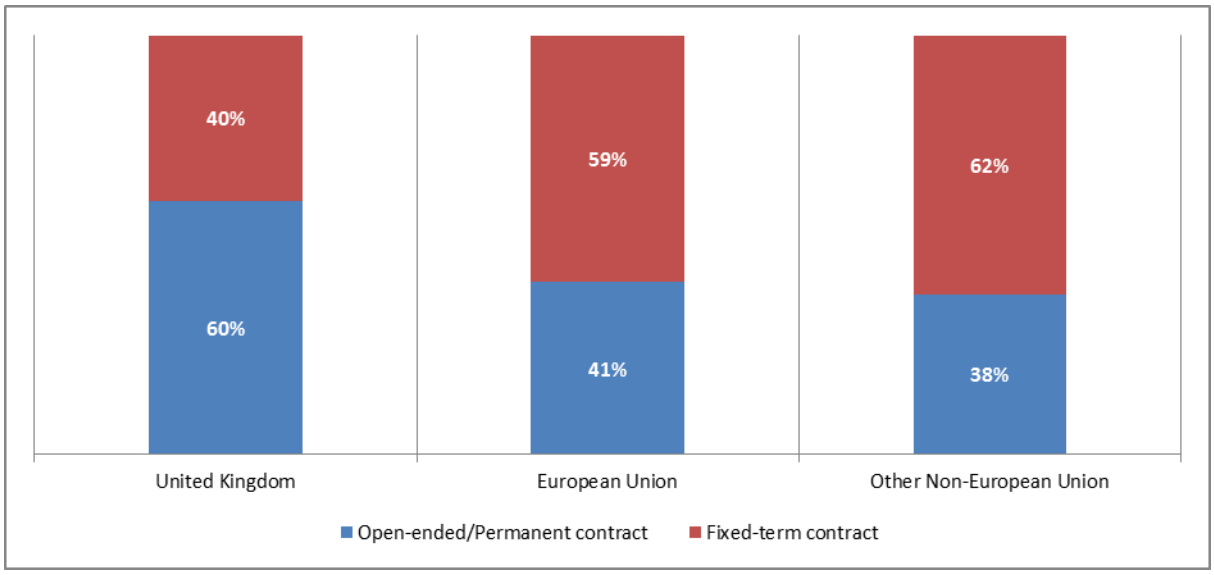
ended/permanent contracts compared with 74% of those in University Alliance and 70% of those in Million+ institutions.

Figure 18. Terms of employment of academic staff 2008-09



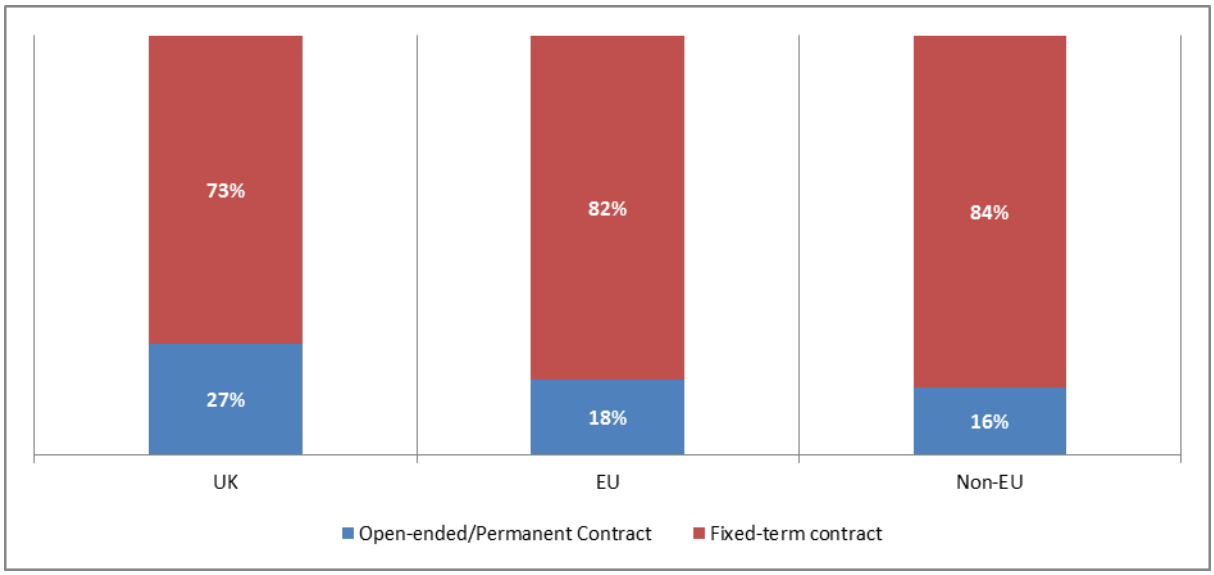
Moreover, closer analysis of Russell Group data reveals that non-UK research active academics are far more likely to be employed on temporary contracts than their UK-citizen colleagues (see Figure 19). Around 40% of UK academics are on short-term contracts and 60% on open-ended/permanent contracts; the figures are reversed for non-UK academics.

Figure 19. Research Only /Teaching and Research Staff by Terms of Employment and Nationality Marker in Russell Group HEIs 2008-09



However, if Research Only staff are considered in isolation, then across all nationality groups in the Russell Group there is a significant majority on fixed-term contracts (see Figure 20). This includes 73% of UK, against 82% of EU and 84% of non-EU Research Only staff.

Figure 20. Research Only staff by terms of employment and nationality marker in Russell Group HEIs 2008-09



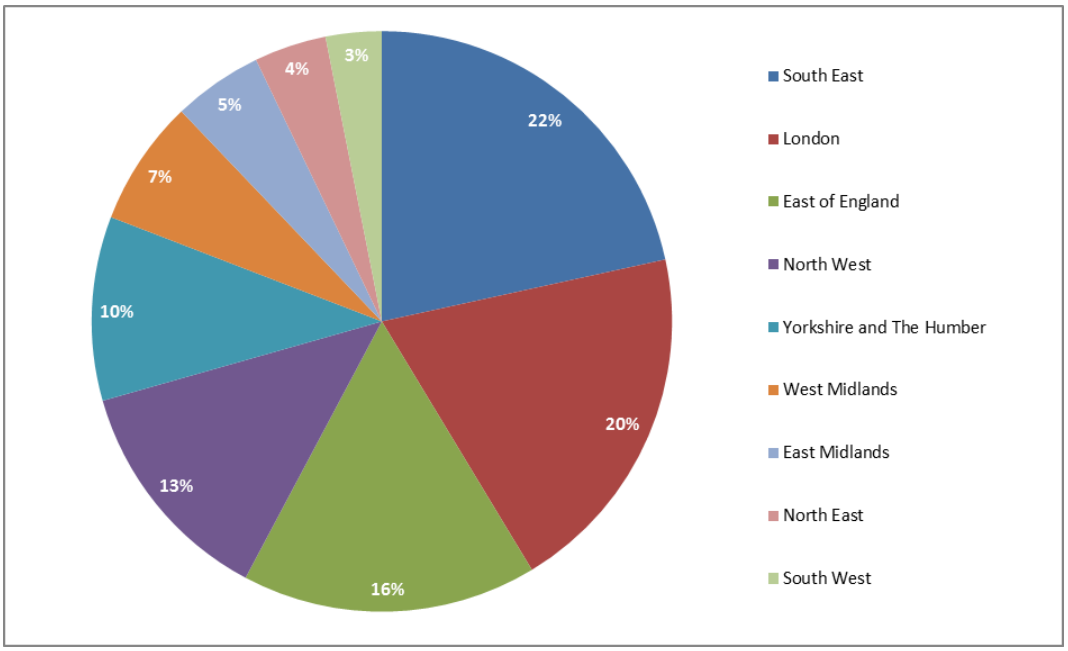
Another way of looking at this is to analyse the ways in which contract types break down by nationality and terms of employment. Table 12 does this for Russell Group institutions. It reveals that just over 22% of Research Only staff of all nationalities are employed in permanent positions compared to just under 78% in fixed-term positions. Less than 8% of non-UK citizens on Research Only contracts are permanent; approximately half the proportion of UK academics (14.6%). On the other hand, the proportion of fixed-term contracts made up by non-UK academics is almost the same as that of UK academics (37.5% and 40.3% respectively). This again is evidence of the dependency of research intensive institutions, and the UK research base more widely, in non-citizens.

Table 12. Academic staff in Russell Group (England) by employment function (excluding 'neither research nor teaching'), terms of employment and nationality marker 2008-09

	Nationality marker	Teaching Only	**Research Only**	Teaching and research
Permanent Contract	**UK**	34.2%	**14.6%**	67.5%
	Non-UK	12.8%	**7.7%**	22.6%
Fixed-term Contract	**UK**	34.3%	**40.3%**	6.8%
	Non-UK	18.7%	**37.5%**	3.2%
		100%	**100%**	**100%**

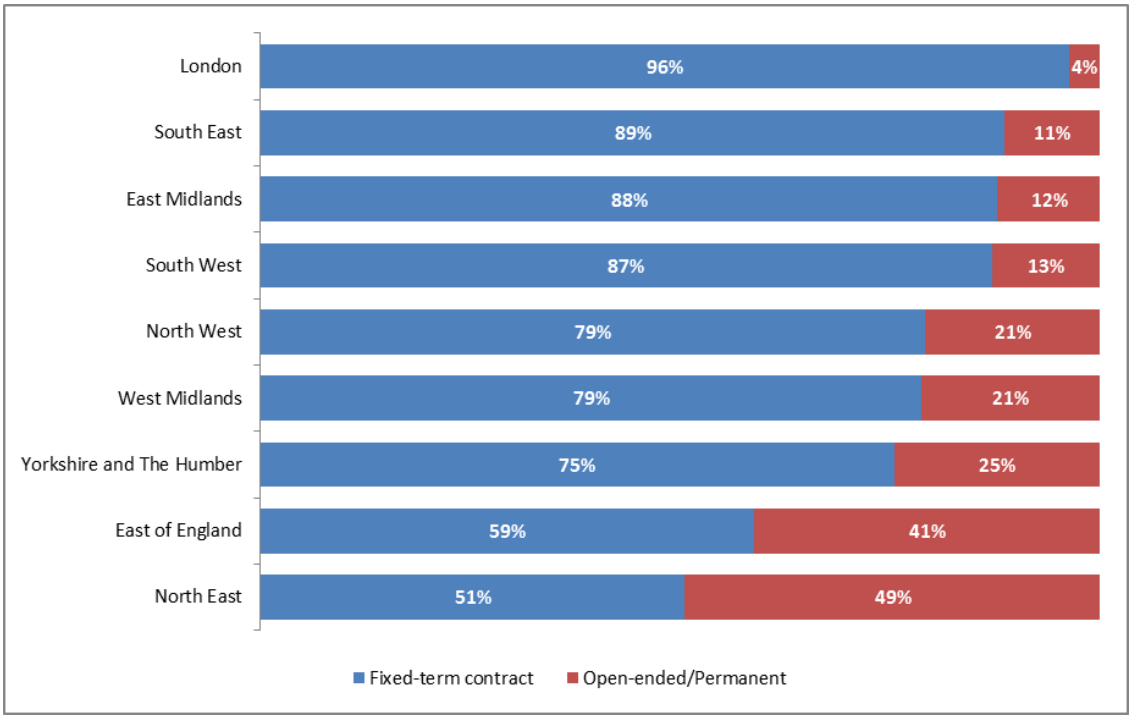
Looking at this feature geographically highlights the role of London and its adjacent regions in locating opportunities in the English academic labour market. For example, in 2008-09 London had the largest number of academics of all nationalities on fixed-term positions (18,362), and the South East the second (14,607); the third highest number, in the North West, was only around half that of the second highest (8,067). The concentration of these posts can be seen by looking at the Russell Group institutions and Research Only posts only. Figure 21 shows that 58% of fixed-term, open ended contracts within the Russell Group in 2008-09 were in just three regions: the South East, London and the East of England.

Figure 21. Proportion of all fixed-term, research only contracts in the Russell Group in each region 2008-09



Looking at the ratio of fixed-term to open-ended contracts within each region reinforces the geographical dimensions of opportunities within the English sector. The startlingly high proportion of fixed-term contracts in London (96%) points to a fluid labour market of Research Only positions in prestigious institutions that contrasts with, for example, the North East where there was a roughly equal proportion of fixed-term and open-ended contracts in 2008-09 (see Figure 22). The figure for London can be explained with reference to the number of highly-reputed research institutions, research funding, and opportunities in general; in the North East, in contrast, the factors might include a lack of opportunities in general and a need to offer more permanent contracts to attract academics.

Figure 22. Russell Group research only by region and terms of employment 2008-09



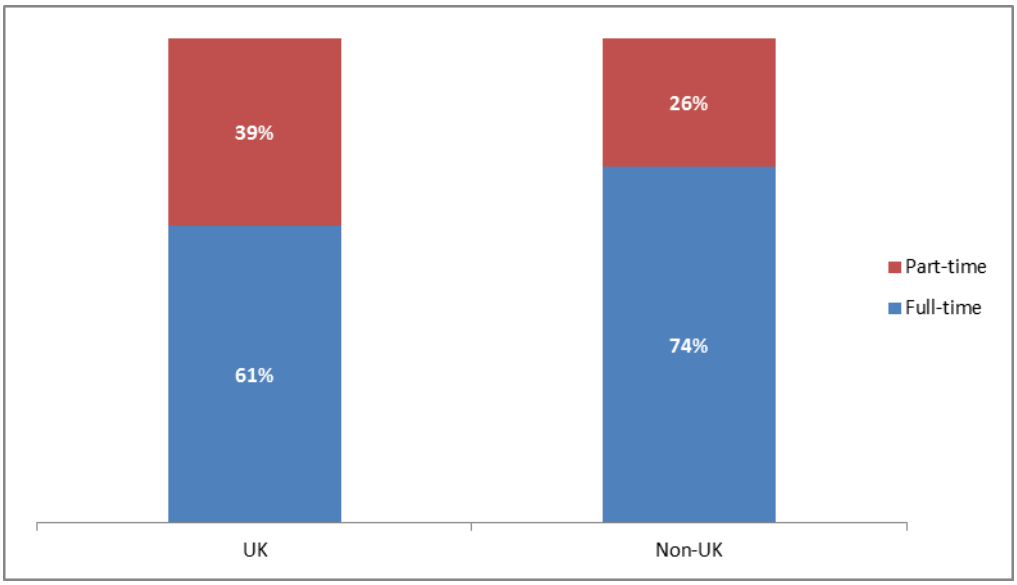
Mode of employment

A further feature of academic contracts recorded in the HESA data is the Mode of Employment, that is, whether the contract is full- or part-time. It is difficult to infer a great deal from the number of part-time contracts: they may simply indicate flexible working and/or job shares, though they may be a further manifestation of academic job insecurity which also correlates with portfolio working (McAlpine 2012; Mellors-Bourne, Metcalfe & Pollard 2013). For example, looking at the Mode of Employment in tandem with the Terms of Employment reveals that in 2008-09 56% of part-time positions were also fixed-term. Geographically, London and its near regions again dominate the data: 56% of all part-time positions in English higher education institutions in 2008-09 were in London and the South East; whilst 50% of the South East's and 44% of London's academics were on part-time contracts.

This could point to a further dimension of academic work, the 'foot-in-the-door' type positions that can be found in 'escalator regions'. It probably also reflects the labour market in London and its bordering regions, to the extent that there may be less pressure on institutions (particularly the more prestigious ones) to try to hold on to academics by offering them full-time and/or permanent work. At the same time, non-UK academics, especially those from outside the EU who may have visa issues, may have less access to part-time positions. Indeed, the data shows that non-UK academics are less likely to hold such positions than their UK peers (see Figure 22). This, of course, would also be affected by life- and career -stage factors which may enable academics to tolerate mobility and

insecurity at some points and demand greater security and stability at others. These factors are discussed in the following section.

Figure 23. Mode of employment and nationality, all English HEIs 2008-09

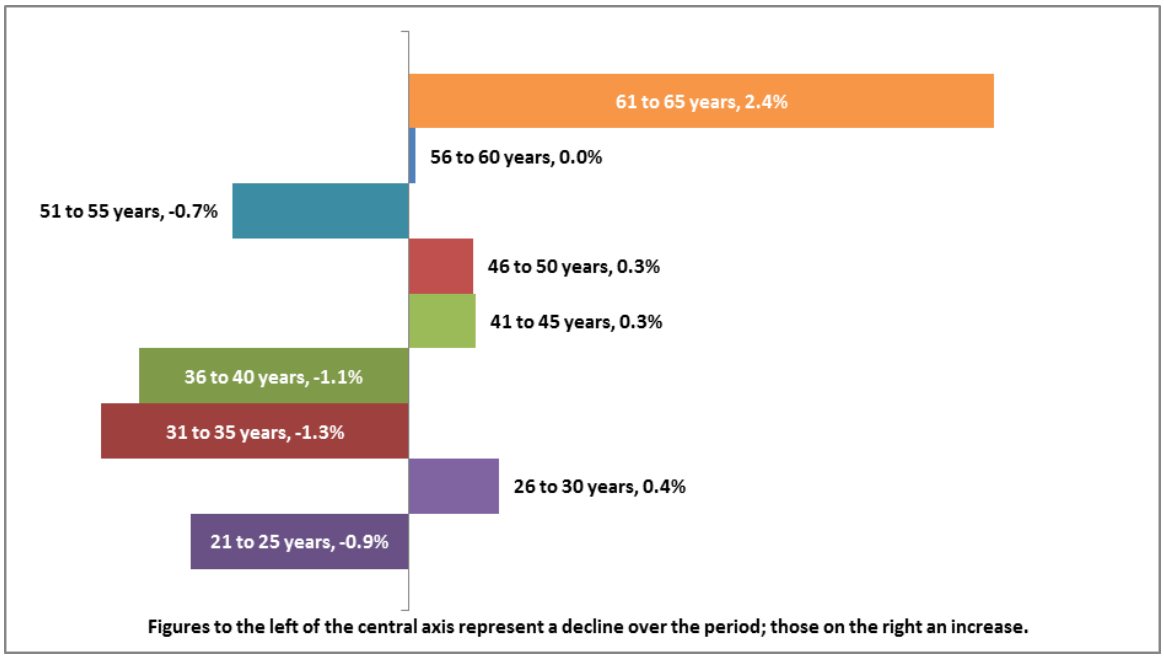


Age and the internationalisation of the English academic workforce

A core driver for the internationalisation of the academic workforce in countries such as the UK, the USA and Australia is the fear that the professoriate is aging and not being replaced by locals coming through the national systems (RCUK 2008; Santiago et al. 2008). Certainly the data indicates that the two most notable changes in age composition when considering UK citizens only are an increase in the proportion of the 61 to 65 age group from 5.2% of the total in 2004-05 to 7.6% in 2008-09, with an accompanying decline over the same period in the 31 to 35 (11.8% to 10.5%) and 36 to 40 (13.3% to 10.5%) age groups.

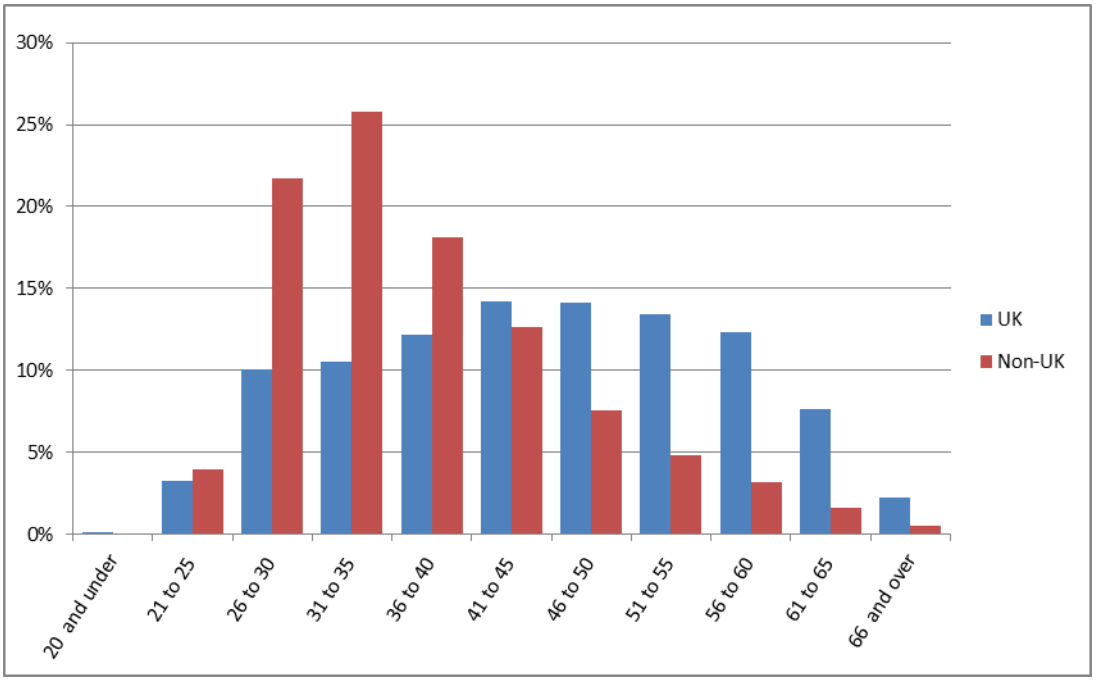
In addition, with the exception of the 51 to 55 age group (decline) and the 26 to 30 age group (increase), there does appear to have been a slight increase in the proportion of academics at mid- to late-career and a decline in those at early- to mid-career. Nevertheless, as Figure 24 shows, the changes were quite small and in all but three age groups were less than 1% over the period.

Figure 24. Change in proportion of all UK citizen academics accounted for by each age group 2004-05 to 2008-09



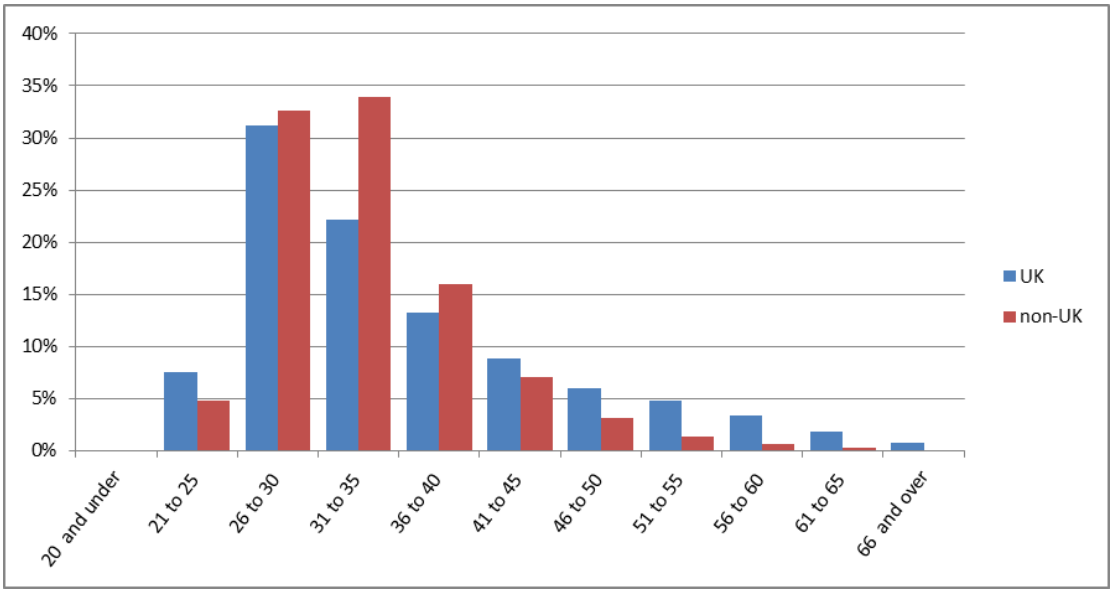
A feature of the English academic profession that emerges starkly from the data is the concentration non-UK academics in particular age categories. Figure 25 shows the distribution of academic staff in English institutions across age categories. UK-citizen academics are distributed quite evenly across the 26 to 60 categories, with a slight bulge in the 41 to 50 groups of only a few percentage points. Non-UK academic staff, on the other hand, are clustered in the 26 to 40 groups to a dramatic degree relative both to their British peers and other non-citizens in other age groups. More than a quarter of non-UK academics are in the 31 to 35 group compared to just 11% of UK citizens; in the 45 to 50 age group there is more or less a parity between the two groups (14% of UK and 13% of non-UK citizens); but whilst 8% of UK academics fall into the 61 to 65 group, only 2% of non-citizens do.

Figure 25. Distribution of academic staff across age groups: all, UK and non-UK 2008-09



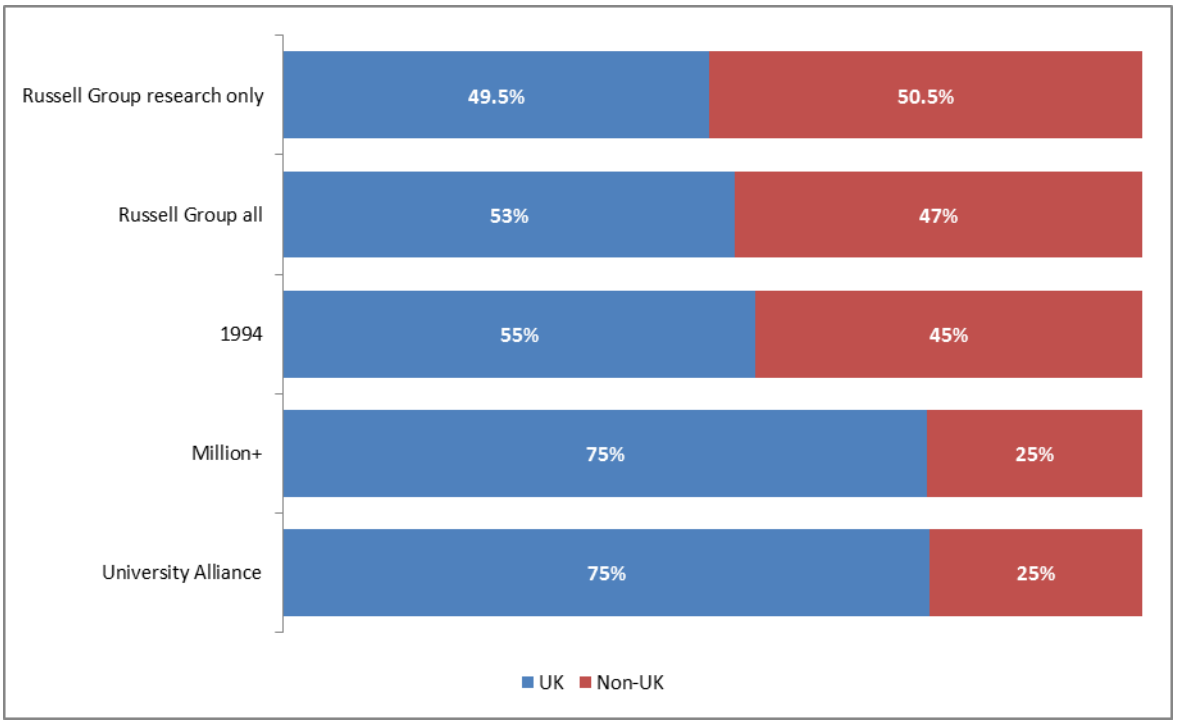
The pattern of distribution of academics by age group and nationality is repeated across mission groups, though it is slightly more pronounced in the Russell Group, where in 2008-09 the proportion of non-UK academics concentrated in the 31 to 35 age group was almost 30%. This pattern is even more pronounced when Research Only academics in the Russell Group are considered, in which case the concentration of non-UK citizens in the 31 to 35 age group rises to 34% (See Figure 26). However, this analysis also reveals that there is a much slighter difference in the distribution across age groups between UK and non-UK citizens on Research Only contracts.

Figure 26. Russell Group research only UK and non-UK academics by age 2008-09



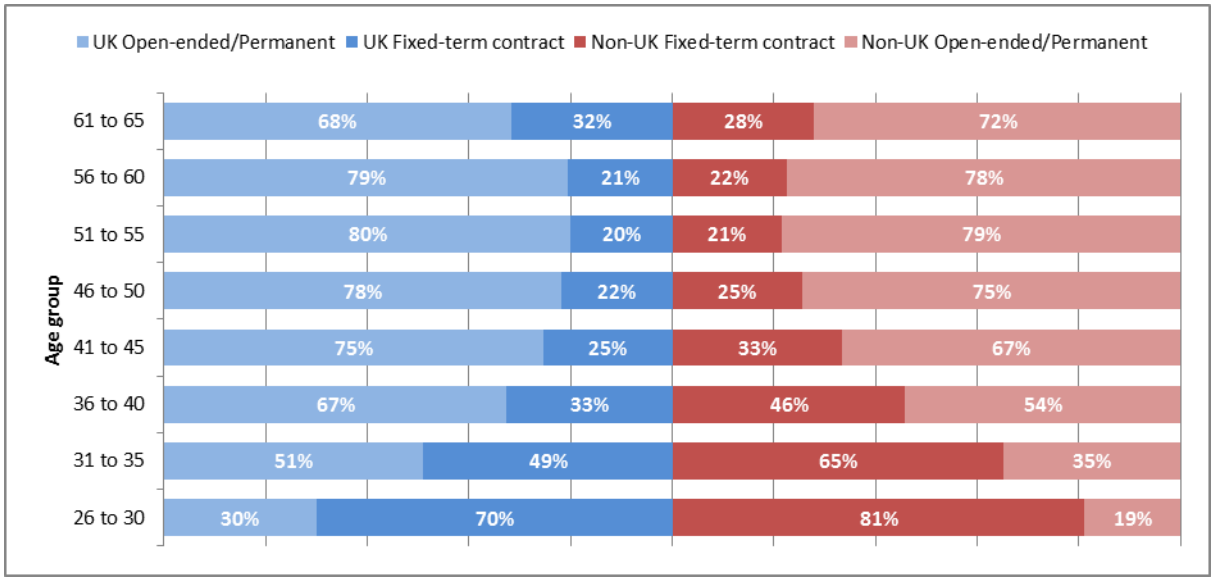
Taking all staff in the 26 to 40 age groups and looking at them in terms of nationality adds to the understanding of the role non-citizens play in the English system. Figure 27 shows that whilst 25% of academics in the Million+ and University Alliance institutions in the 26 to 40 age group were non-UK citizens in 2008-09, the proportion in the research-intensive institutions was much higher (45% in the 1994 Group and 47% in the Russell Group). Moreover, when Research Only academics in the Russell Group are isolated, non-UK academics are seen to have constituted over half of this age group in 2008-09.

Figure 27. Composition of 26-40 age group by national background and mission group 2008-09



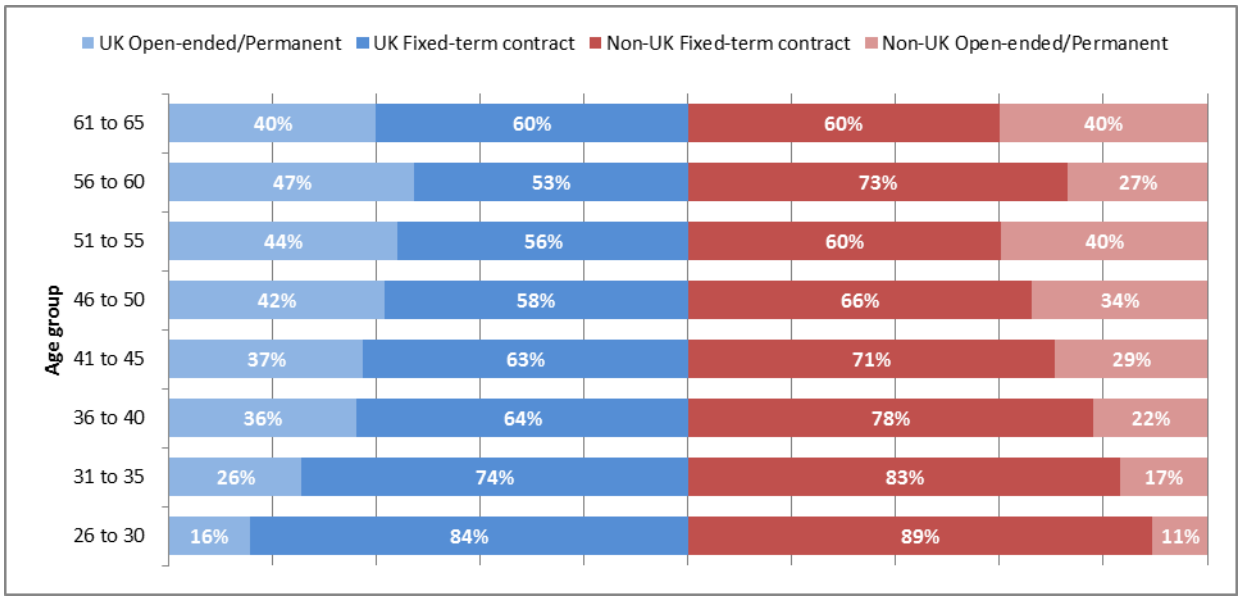
A previous section explored the terms of employment (permanent/fixed-term) of academics in the English sector. There is an age dimension to this, also. Figure 28 shows that, across all academic staff in all English institutions, younger academics were likely to be employed on temporary contracts in 2008-09. Again, however, this was especially so for non-citizen than for citizen academics. The differences were most pronounced in the 31 to 35 age group in which 49% of UK-citizen academics held temporary contracts compared to 65% of non-UK academics. The differences diminished in older age groups to just 1% or 2%.

Figure 28. All academics in English institutions by age, nationality and contract type 2008-09



Interestingly, whilst the proportion of both UK and non-UK academics on temporary contracts is much greater in the Russell Group when Research Only academics are considered, the relative difference between the groups is roughly the same and in some cases slightly smaller. The exception to this pattern is in the 56 to 60 age group, in which 73% of non-UK and 53% of UK citizens are on temporary contracts (see Figure 29) compared to 22% (non-UK) and 21% (UK) of their peers in the general population. Figure 29 also shows that in some age categories, academics of UK and other national backgrounds on Research Only contracts in Russell Group institutions are more than twice as likely to be on temporary contracts as the general academic population.

Figure 29. Russell Group research only academics by age, nationality and contract type 2008-09



The data on age indicates that there is a market for short-term, Research Only contracts in the English sector that favours younger academics who are able to manage the risks of insecurity and the practicalities of mobility. The degree to which these positions are filled by non-citizens suggests that this cohort are willing and/or able to accommodate these features of academic work for longer than their UK-citizen peers. Non-UK citizens may also be less attached to particular places within the UK and therefore more willing to move to pursue work as part of a strategic career plan that began when they left their countries of origin.

Gender

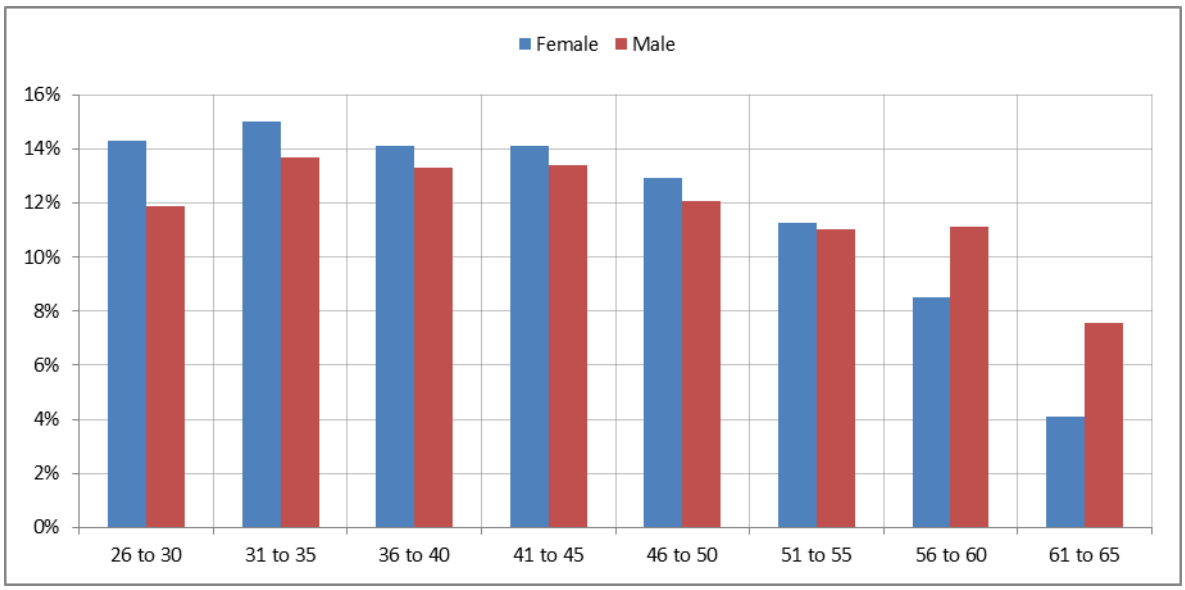
In 2008-09 44% of the English academic profession were female and 56% were male. These proportions were true of both UK and non-UK citizens, although when broken down to specific nationalities there was much greater diversity. Amongst the 50 main sending countries (which each were the source of 110 or more non-UK academics), the proportion of females to males was greater in 17 cases. 59% of Finnish citizen academics in English higher education institutions were female, although the total number was fairly small (275). More interesting is the fact that of 1621 Spanish citizens, 57% were female. 56% of South African and Romanian citizens were female (out of 321 and 303 in total respectively) and 54% of Swedes (out of 449) and Japanese (of 446). At the other extreme, 86% of Ghanaian academics in English institutions were male (of a total of just 115). Of the major sending countries, males accounted for 68% of (1,777) Indian, 63% of (2,837) Chinese and 58% of (2,017) Greek academics.

It is possible to speculate on the reasons for these patterns, though as noted before, it would be necessary to account for specific national contexts. For example, a greater proportion of women from one country might indicate a greater degree of access to opportunities to work or study abroad; for another country it might reflect the lack of opportunities for work and study at home (Kim, Bankart & Isdell 2011). It may well indicate both. In a study of Japanese students in the USA, Ono and Piper (2004) found that the relatively subservient role of women in Japan was a key incentive both for overseas study and non-return. Other research has shown the ways in which academic careers, mobility and relationships intersect to affect women in particular (Moguérou 2004; Ackers 2004; Jöns 2011).

The data showed that female academics of all nationalities were more likely than their male counterparts to be located in all age categories between 26 and 55 in 2008-09. Figure 30 reveals that this was most pronounced in the 26 to 30 age group, although it amounted to a difference of only just over 2%. This difference declined in each subsequent age group until the 55 to 60 category where only 8% of women were located compared to 11% of men. In terms of the proportion of each

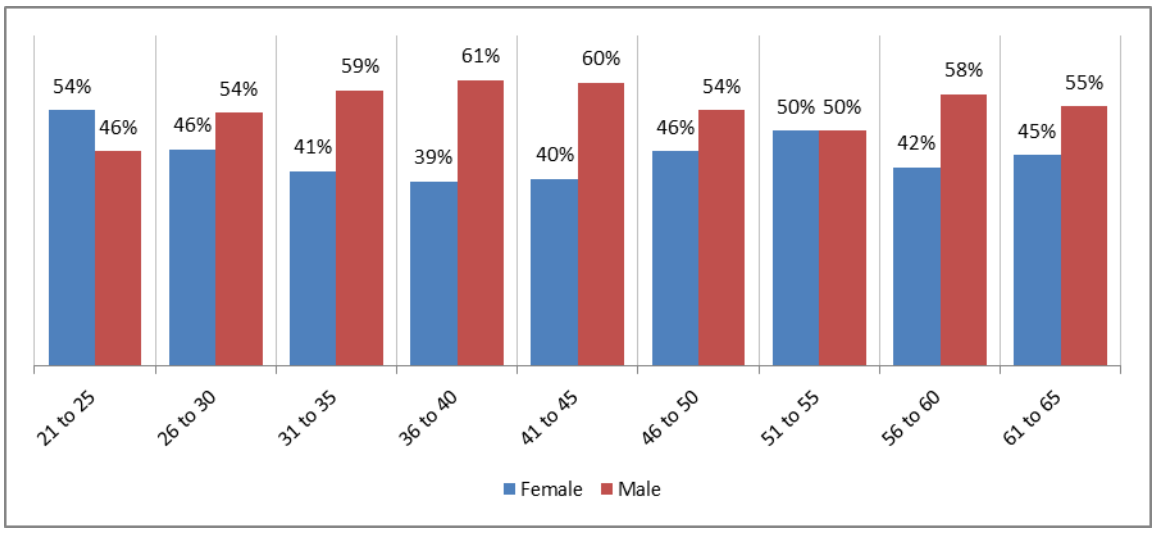
age category constituted by women, analysis revealed that in the 26 to 30 category 49% of academics were female compared to 51% male. In subsequent age groups the proportions were slightly smaller but consistent: 47% of the 31 to 35 age group are women, as were 46% of the 36 to 50 groups and 45% of the 51 to 55 group. However, only 38% of the 56 to 60 and 30% of the 61 to 65 age group were women.

Figure 30. Distribution of female and male academics across age groups in all English HEIs 2008-09



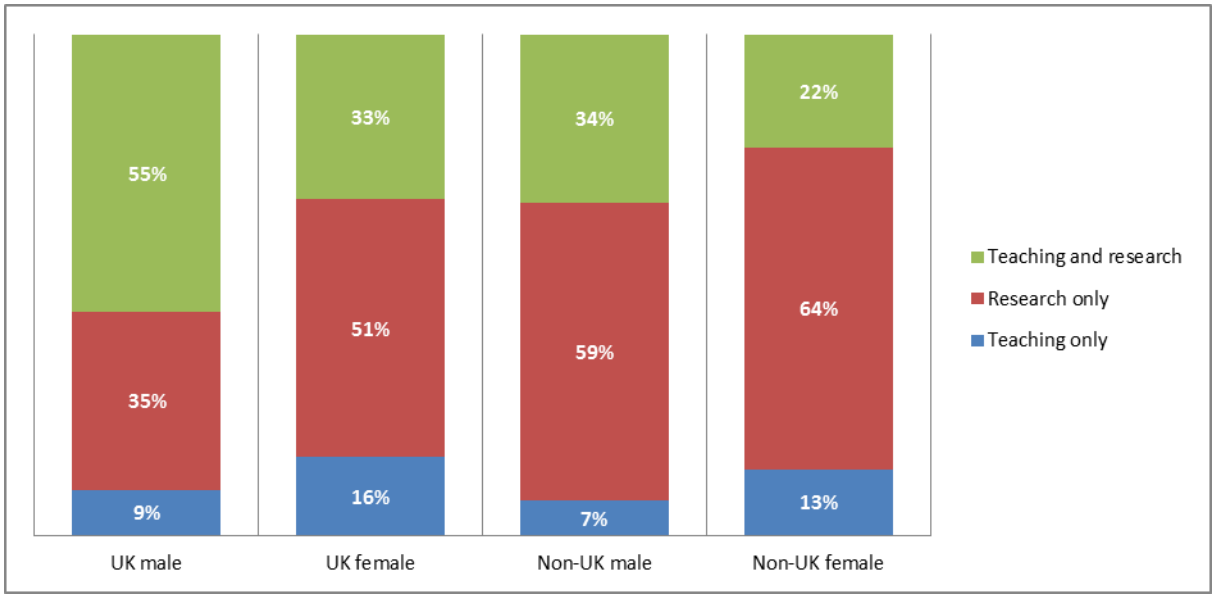
The relationship between gender and nationality can be clearly seen when exploring the data on the Russell Group institutions. Figure 31 illustrates how the proportion of non-UK female academics drops dramatically relative to males in the 26 to 50 groups, particularly so in the 31 to 45 groups. This probably reflects life-course factors such as the birth of children and parental responsibilities which affect women to a greater extent in general and almost exclusively in some more traditional national contexts. At the same time, males may retain the possibility of taking up mobility opportunities.

Figure 31. Proportion of non-UK age cohort by gender in Russell Group 2008-09



Gender differences are identifiable in the sort of work non-UK males and females tend to do. In 2008-09, for example, 64% of non-UK females and 59% of non-UK males were employed on Research Only contracts, compared with 51% of UK females and just 35% of UK males. 55% of UK citizen males in the Russell Group were employed on Teaching and Research contracts, i.e. 'full' academic contracts. This compares to 33% of UK females, 34% of non-UK males and just 22% of non-UK females (see Figure 32). In short, UK males are more likely to be employed in 'traditional' academic roles than any other group, whilst non-UK females are least likely.

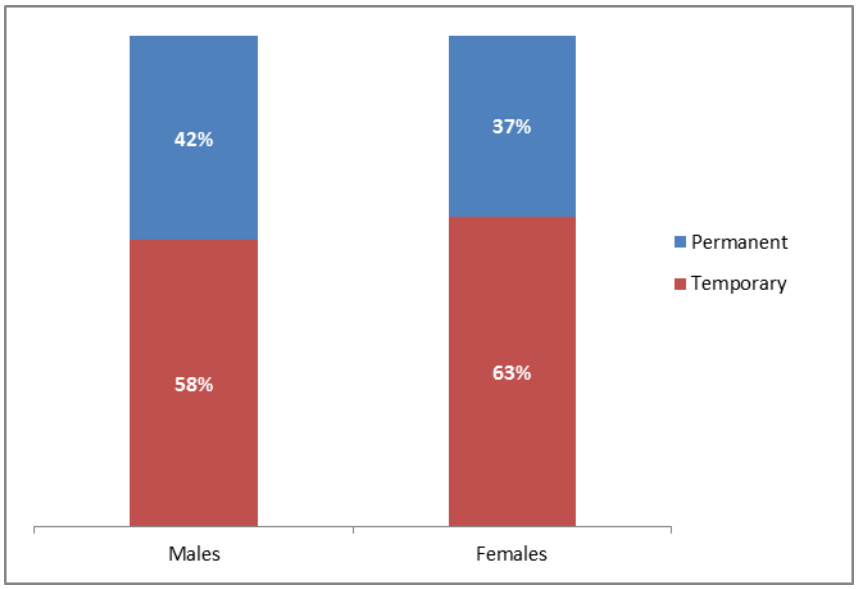
Figure 32. Proportion of different nationality/gender groups by employment function 2008-09



Earlier the data was analysed to reveal how, across all English institutions, the proportion of permanent to temporary contracts was 59% to 41%. In the Russell Group these figures were 52% permanent to 48% temporary for all academics, and 40% to 60% for research active non-UK citizens.

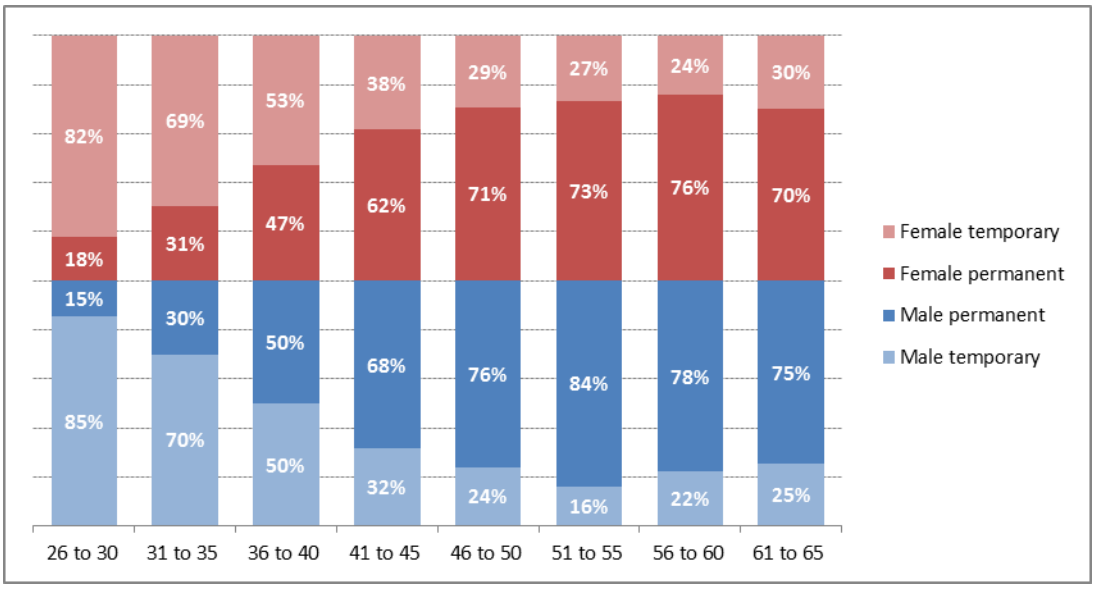
Adding gender to this analysis reveals that non-UK males are more likely to enjoy job security than their non-UK female counterparts, with 42% holding permanent contracts compared to 37% of non-UK females (see Figure 33). Again there is a link to the life-course. It is likely that women remain in temporary positions for longer or exit the workforce altogether as a result of traditional parenting roles; and that, consequently, men are able to persevere in order to achieve permanency.

Figure 33. Proportion of non-UK males and females by terms of employment in the Russell Group 2008-09



Furthermore, Figure 34 shows that in all age groups apart from 26 to 30 and 31 to 35, non-UK Research Only male academics are more likely to hold permanent contracts than their female equivalents. Whilst the difference is slight in, for example, the 36 to 40 age group, it is significant in the 51 to 55 category, where 84% of males yet only 73% of females hold permanent contracts. One possible explanation for this is that women in these age groups put their careers 'on hold' whilst children are younger and consequently are unable to take up permanent posts at the same rate as men; the difference between genders drops to only a couple of per cent in the later-career, 56-60 age group, when women might be expected to have re-established their careers after children are grown.

Figure 34. Non-UK research only Russell Group academics by age group, gender and terms of employment 2008-09



There is gender patterning across disciplines, too. In 2008-09 non-UK citizen academics could be found in 20 disciplines (defined as JACS head codes allocated by HESA), with the locations of 13% unknown. Table 13 reveals that in the discipline which hosted the largest number of non-UK academics, Biological Science, the proportion of non-UK female academics to male was 55% to 45%. However, men were dominant in the next four disciplinary categories: Physical Sciences (71% male to 29% female), Social studies (54% male), Mathematical and Computer Sciences (74% male) and Engineering (81% male). These four disciplines accounted for 37% of all non-UK academics.

Table 13. Main host disciplines of non-UK academics by proportion of all non-UK academics and by gender 2008-09

Academic discipline	% of total non-UK academics	Female	Male
C Biological Sciences	15%	55%	45%
F Physical Sciences	11%	29%	71%
L Social studies	10%	46%	54%
G Mathematical and Computer Sciences	8%	26%	74%
H Engineering	8%	19%	81%
B Subjects allied to Medicine	5%	57%	43%
V Historical and Philosophical studies	5%	47%	53%
N Business and Administrative studies	4%	41%	59%
Q Linguistics, Classics and related subjects	4%	68%	32%
A Medicine and Dentistry	4%	40%	60%

Looking at the distribution of non-UK academics by gender across disciplines reveals that males are more concentrated in a smaller number of disciplines than females, although the same core disciplines dominate. Table 14 shows that whilst 49% of non-UK female academics are located in just five disciplines, the figure for males is 58%. Interestingly, three of the disciplines are the same: Biological Sciences, Physical Sciences and Social studies.

Table14. Non-UK academics' distribution across disciplines (top 5) by gender 2008-08

Discipline (non-UK female)	% of total	Discipline (non-UK male)	% of total
Biological Sciences	18%	Physical Sciences	14%
Social studies	10%	Biological Sciences	12%
Physical Sciences	7%	Engineering	11%
Subjects allied to Medicine	7%	Mathematical and Computer Sciences	11%
Linguistics, Classics and related subjects	6%	L Social studies	10%

On final interesting point regarding gender is that, perhaps reflecting women's relative job insecurity, there was a slightly higher proportion of non-UK females to males in London institutions in 2008-09. Whereas the overall proportion of non-UK female to male academics across the sector was 44% to 56%, in London these figures were 48% to 52%. The counterpoint to this was the

disproportionate number of male non-UK academics elsewhere, particularly in the North West and North East were the figures were 40% female to 60% male.

Doctoral Students

The doctorate not only constitutes the first stage of an academic career but is also increasingly a fundamental requirement. In fact, whether doctoral study is a form of employment or studentship depends on national context (Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008; European Commission 2007). As doctoral candidates become more able to choose the countries in which they train, incorporating international students into perspectives on mobility, higher education systems and careers also becomes more important. Analysis of the Changing Academic Profession survey highlights the many ways in which academics manage a doctoral phase in one country with mobility elsewhere (Goastellec & Pekari 2013) and, in particular, have a tendency to undertake post-doctoral work in the systems that trained them (Bennion & Locke 2010). The significance of non-UK doctoral candidates in replenishing the English academic workforce now and in the future is an important point, particularly given the expansion of the sector, the coming retirement of a whole generation of academics, and the lack of UK-citizen students going into key subject areas such as economics.

Analysis of the HESA data shows that in 2008-08, of all non-UK academics in the English system, 4,600 or 12% had been students in the UK before taking up their current position. Of course, this does not include those who had gained their PhDs in the UK and moved once or more between institutions. Moreover, looking at the data another way reveals that some 34% of academics who had previously been students in the UK were non-UK citizens. Another HESA data set[48] shows how in 2008-09 non-UK doctoral candidates were distributed through the English sector at institutional level. Of all English institutions with more than 100 doctoral candidates, the number in which the proportion of non-UK candidates was greater than 50% was 18. At the London School of Economics and Political Science fully 73% of 770 doctoral candidates were from overseas, as were 53% of the University of Oxford's 4,010 and the University of Cambridge's 4,885.

Analysis of HESA (and other) data undertaken elsewhere (Kemp et al. 2008) revealed that in 2006-07 over 50,000, or 42%, of the UK's postgraduate research students were from overseas. These same authors map the geographies of origin, finding concern that just six countries of origin supply around 25% of the UK's international doctoral students: China, the USA, Greece, Germany, Malaysia and India. In addition, the distribution of non-UK doctoral candidates across disciplines was uneven, particularly relative to UK candidates. 59% of postgraduate research students in law, for example, are international, as are 58% in business and management, engineering and technology and

[48] Supplied by the University of Liverpool.

architecture and building. Moreover, one third of international research students in the UK were in just four subject areas: maths, computing, engineering and physical science. The national profiles by discipline also vary, with Chinese students concentrating in the physical sciences and US students constituting 10% of social science students.

Departures

Understanding of the place of the English higher education sector in transnational flows of academics, and the role of mobility in academic careers is incomplete without an idea of onward mobility. However, this is an area for which little data exists. Even though HESA collects this information, the data itself is only as good as that which is collected by institutions, which is very limited. Nevertheless, with this caveat in mind, some key features can be described.

Around 50% of academic staff that left their employment between 2004-05 and 2008-09 went to unknown destinations. The analysis of leaving destinations therefore excludes these, and those who retired (6.4%) or died (0.5%). Of the remaining academics, the data reveals that over the entire 2004-05 to 2008-09 period in question 21% of non-UK citizens who left their institutions went on to another English institution. This compares with 29% of UK-citizen academics who did the same. If all non-UK citizen academics who went on to another English institution, research institution or other education institution are combined the figure is 29.2%. 33.6% of non-UK academics for whom a destination is known left the country, though it is not known where they went.

These of course are aggregate figures for the entire period, and will include individuals who moved multiple times between institutions. Looking at just 2008-09 (Table 15), however, shows that the proportion of non-UK academics leaving their positions for another English education institution was 18%.

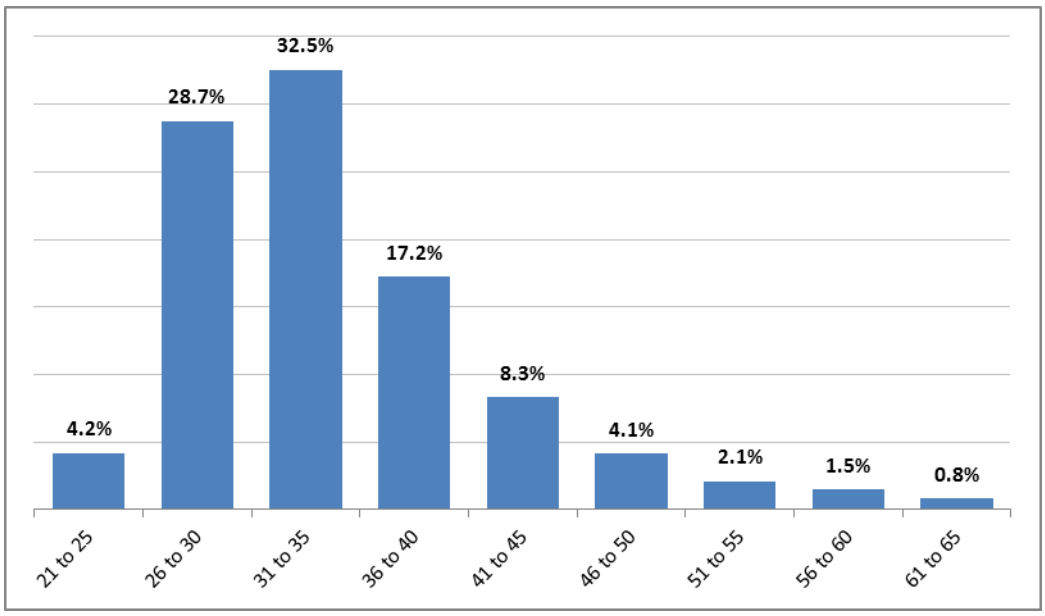
Table 15. All HEIs England 2004-05 to 2008-09

Non-UK academics leaving for another HEI in UK	21.8%
UK academics leaving for another HEI in the UK	29.2%
Non-UK academics leaving for another HEI, research institution or other education institution in UK	26.6%
Non-UK academics leaving the country	33.6%

If only non-UK academics are explored by nationality marker, it can be seen that over the period 2004-05 to 2008-09, EU citizens were slightly more likely to leave the country than their non-EU counterparts (36% as opposed to 31%) and less likely to take up another position in the English sector (21% EU to 23% non-EU). This is perhaps evidence of a growing European academic labour market, facilitated by the freedom of movement afforded to EU citizens. In contrast, non-EU citizens are likely to be more restricted by immigration regulations and tied to specific work contracts.

It is also possible to see how non-UK citizens leaving the English sector are distributed across age categories (see Figure 35). Of all those who left English higher education institutions between 2004-05 and 2008-09, the overwhelming majority (78.5%) were in the 26 to 40 age groups. This reinforces an understanding of international mobility as essentially an early career phenomenon, with non-UK citizens returning home after a post-doctoral phase.

Figure 35. Leaving the UK by age group non-UK 2004-05 to 2008-09



Conclusions

The exploratory analysis of the HESA data has revealed a number of features of the internationalisation of the English higher education sector, its institutions, and its non-citizen staff. An important observation is that the growth in staffing across all institutions has been generally disproportionately skewed towards non-UK citizens and, in particular, EU academics. The English sector draws upon a small number of source countries for a large majority of non-citizen staff. However, the flows are not undifferentiated: specific features of source countries are in some cases associated with specific features of mobile academics. The origins of non-citizen academics point to regional trends within Europe and cultural, historical and linguistic links to specific countries beyond.

Emerging economies with large and educated populations are also key source countries, with cultural-linguistic factors appearing to shape to some extent the disciplinary destinations of academics from China. Large emerging countries such as Brazil and Russia are not represented in the data to a significant degree, reflecting the specific historical, linguistic-cultural and regional factors at work in these countries.

Academic systems which have been traditionally closed either by design or through linguistic-cultural and regional factors help to explain the rather small number of academics from countries such as Japan. On the other hand, the surprisingly high number of academic staff originating in Greece can be attributed to some extent to the barriers to career entry in that country. The inward mobility of German academics indicates both a mobility imperative and the longer apprenticeship to fully-fledged academic in that country.

A few points can also be made about the destinations of incoming academics within England. For example, national origin appears to be important in the distribution by the type of university (pre- and post-1992), though not by geography. Temporary contracts are more likely in London and adjacent regions; and more likely in Research Only contracts; otherwise patterns are not greatly pronounced by region. This reflects known patterns of concentration of non-UK academics in research institutions

In fact, London's gravity is significant in many ways, not just academically but economically and culturally. Combined with the institutions of the Golden Triangle, which enhance the size and diversity of its academic sector, the gravity of London appears to shape the distribution of non-citizens into the academic labour market in England. However, proximity, commuting and opportunities can be assumed to be at work, if in a more distributed fashion, elsewhere in England in ways that cross regional categories. For example, within an hour or less from Leeds in the north of England are the multiple institutions of Leeds itself, Bradford, Sheffield, Manchester and York; in the Midlands the same is true.

Data reveal that between 2004-05 and 2008-09 patterns of mobility stayed relatively stable across some dimensions, for example in terms of the key sending countries and regions, and in particular the proportion of EU and non-EU academics in the English system. However, the data cannot say anything about the somewhat dramatic changes in circumstances since that point which could reasonably be assumed to have affected the patterns and composition of incoming flows. These would include most significantly the global and in particular European dimensions of the financial crisis and its consequences; and the increasingly strict border controls implemented by the coalition government since its election in 2010. Whilst the former might be expected to have added to the population of mobile academics, the latter would make it difficult for an institution to benefit from it.

The analysis leaves many important questions largely unanswered. For example, is critical mass a feature of London and the South East only? The role of place, either geographically or institutionally, may be concentrated in London to a degree not evident elsewhere, but it is possible to see it at work

in more distributed fashion. Secondly, the data captures very well the patterns of incoming mobility but is weak when it comes to internal mobility. Importantly it cannot say how significant internal mobility/location is for non-UK academics once they have made the initial cross-border move. Ultimately, these and many other questions cannot be answered through the HESA data, as rich as they are. Rather, it is time to turn to the lived experiences and practices of internationally mobile non-citizen academics themselves.

Chapter 5. Departures: leaving home

This chapter explores the factors which led a sample of non-UK citizen academics in two English higher education institutions to undertake international, out-bound, between-job mobility from their countries of origin in the course of their careers. It is the position taken here that understanding motivations for mobility in terms of both people and their places of origin is essential. This points the way to a multi-level analysis grounded in national contexts and systemic transnational flows, complex and differentiated career and disciplinary patterns, and individual motivations and opportunities. Whilst primarily concerned with academic mobility as a professional practice, understanding cannot be complete if it excludes the personal, family and wider social factors that affect it in sometimes defining ways. References will be made to literature on academic mobility where it exists, and work on highly skilled mobility more broadly where it does not (with the caveat that academic mobility has its own distinct characteristics and is not directly comparable to mobility in other sectors (Bauder 2012)). Moreover, understanding the conditions in places of origin, who is leaving and when, can shed light on the ways in which notions of brain drain, return, circulation and so on might be applied to this type of mobility.

The chapter is organised around discussions of various factors, both professional and personal, at both macro- and micro-level. This analytical frame is employed in order to gain maximum insight into each of the factors. At the same time, however, it is recognised that migration decision making is a complex process which involves, at the individual level, considerations of both time and space. In other words, whilst any number of factors may contribute to the desire for mobility, the 'trigger' may occur at a specific and often unanticipated time in an individual's life- or career course. On the other hand, the trigger may never occur, leaving a desire for mobility unfulfilled. Equally, it is frequently difficult to disentangle a single particularly significant factor from amongst the reasons given for mobility. Finally, focussing on factors which motivate and facilitate departure ignores the fact that some features of migration, for example professional networks and family relationships, function across time and space and fit uneasily into this particular frame. The chapter continues first with a brief discussion of analytical scales.

High importance has at times been assigned to the macro-level contexts of sending (and receiving) countries, particularly in economic and sociological explanations which emphasise the relative attractions of competing places and regard the deficits of the place of origin as 'push' factors. Altbach (2007a) and others[49] have highlighted the geographies of academic centres and peripheries

[49] Elsewhere, others have noted the hierarchical nature of national systems and mobility, with a particular emphasis on the centrality of the USA (Marginson & van der Wende 2009; Welch 2008).

which characterise contemporary English-language, market-driven flows of academic mobility.[50] Kim and Locke (2010) argue that, although flows can be mapped to some extent, there is a need for a qualitative analysis of the cultures and traditions of each system. Taking a specifically labour market approach, Bauder (2012) argues that academic labour markets are connected by a 'mobility infrastructure supported by supra-national and national institutions and governments' (p. 8), although he concurs with Musselin (2004, 2005, 2010) that national contexts and traditions strongly affect flows.

A counterpoint to these macro-level explanations are the many person-centred micro-level studies, both quantitative and qualitative, that have sought to understand the mobility motivations and practices of academics and researchers. Evaluations of European mobility programmes have provided a rich source of analysis of within-job and early career researcher mobility in particular (Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008; IDEA Consult 2010a; van de Sande, Ackers & Gill 2005). Work in this area has highlighted the significance of age and gender, discipline and career stage in mobility practices. Fewer studies have addressed international between-job career mobility although, as discussed later in this chapter, a literature on self-initiate expatriation has gone some way to addressing this (Cao, Hirschi & Deller 2012; Doherty & Richardson 2013; Richardson & Mallon 2005).

Between these two poles, and in many ways encompassed by them in much of the literature, lies a third strand: what Faist (1997) terms 'the crucial the meso-level of analysis' which explores the networks which link sending and receiving places. This network approach contributes to the integration of the macro-systemic and the human capitalist perspectives of the former two approaches. Networks, for example, stimulate migration by transmitting information about opportunities elsewhere, as well as facilitating access for individuals to foreign labour markets (Faist 1997). An important feature of migration networks is the existence of intermediaries to act as agents of these exchanges and structuring increasingly enduring connections between two places (Meyer 2001). In academic work, researchers have observed the ways in which supervisory links stimulate and shape mobility (Avveduto 2001), thus in many ways 'making migrants' (Ackers & Gill 2008; Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008). A second important contribution of the meso-level analysis is that it enables a contextualisation the drivers of mobility in academic careers, for example the 'expectation of mobility'; and also an evaluation of the ways in which characteristics such as gender and prestige affect and are affected by mobility.

[50] Altbach (2007a) also points out that the geographies of centre and periphery are not straightforward; within the same country, for example, central and peripheral institutions can exist in close proximity.

Motivating mobility: Professional considerations

Academic systems in countries of origin

Meyer *et al.* (2007) have argued that there is an ongoing convergence of academic systems as a result of global trends which outweigh the significance of local contexts. Such cross-system similarities are important in enabling flows of knowledge and academics internationally (Fenton, Modood & Smetherham 2011; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010). At the same time, however, scholars of academic careers have noted broadly 'a discouraging environment for the academic profession worldwide' (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley 2009, p. 89), which includes variable access to careers and insecure career paths, poor salaries and working conditions, greater burden of bureaucracy and administration, and increasing prevalence of part-time work. Similar issues were reported by Enders and De Weert (2003), who explored academic careers in 19 European countries and found 'unclear and changing contractual and legal positions as well as uncertain future employment and career perspectives' (p. 24) to be particular disincentives to entering an academic career. These conditions, however, are not uniform. Elsewhere Altbach *et al.* (2009) identify, for example, an increase in the number of 'taxi cab' professors supplementing their incomes with other work in some, though not all, countries.

Other differences across systems are evident. Analysis of teaching-research faculty workloads across 13 countries found that at junior levels there were significant differences across national contexts, although there was a convergence of time use at senior, more research oriented posts (Bentley & Kyvik 2012). Another issue is the level of academic pay in many countries. Low pay is a particular problem for some systems, particularly in the context of an increasingly global recruitment market. Altbach *et al.* (2009) found that American and European academics, for example, are paid up to eight times the salaries of their Chinese or Indian counterparts, leading them to the conclusion that, in an international market place 'It is no longer possible to lure the best minds to academe' (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley 2009, p. 92). This conclusion is supported by studies which have found that the lack of doctoral stipends in some countries is a powerful barrier to early career stages; and that, conversely, even low levels of funding abroad are an important factor in motivating mobility (Guth & Gill 2008; Mavroudi & Warren 2012). Whilst rates of pay are relative to national as well as international comparators they are, however, rarely the only motivation for pursuing an academic career (Rumbley, Pacheco & Altbach 2008).

However, whilst globalisation has not yet created a global labour market for academics (Marginson & van der Wende 2007; Welch 2008), increasing opportunities for cross-border mobility, particularly at the regional level, have facilitated the study of the relative merits of different systems. The

European University Institute (2007), for example, contrasts access to labour markets in four models of academic system in Europe, contrasting the 'open and competitive Anglo-Saxon model' with the 'Continental European model which [...] is usually less accessible and less merit-based' (European University Institute 2007, p. 2). Especially in southern Europe, access to careers has emerged as an issue in other research, evident for example in van de Sande et al.'s (2005) finding that for 30% of Marie Curie Fellows from southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus and Malta), lack of opportunities at home were the main reason for seeking a mobility grant.

In the interviews conducted with international academics in English institutions for this study, salaries in countries of origin did not emerge as a key concern except for one respondent, Harry from China, whose comments are reported below. There are several reasons for this: firstly, methodologically the approach in the interviews was to facilitate disclosure of the issues that respondents felt were significant, and none raised remuneration explicitly. This may be due to the fact that remuneration in English institutions is relatively good compared to countries of origin and therefore not the most pressing of issues. Secondly, not only relative pay but other systemic factors are undoubtedly at work. Particularly for early career academics, the centrality of the English higher education sector and key institutions in global terms exercises a powerful magnetic effect (Mahroum 1999b) which likely outweighs many other considerations. Thirdly, respondents to this study had in many cases begun their careers in English institutions, or had been unable to find work in academia in their countries of origin; in either case comparisons of salary become largely irrelevant. Finally, as noted above, remuneration is just one of a host of factors that influence career decisions, including mobility, and is often not reported as the most important.[51]

Other macro-level factors, however, such as access to opportunities and predictable career paths certainly did emerge as concerns, particularly for those originating from southern Europe and less-developed countries outside the EU. For instance, both Spanish tourism management academic Ernesto and Greek health scientist Dimitra referred to the difficulty of finding a position in their home countries without connections. Ernesto explained: 'I didn't have any uncles that would really give me the influences to get in the workplace'. Furthermore, had he pursued his career and been awarded a permanent position, he felt he 'would not be [in my current position as] a reader you know, I would be a junior lecturer possibly now having a permanent contract but quite likely not with a safe salary'.

[51] The fact that salaries are not reported to be significant drivers in academic careers may also be related to the self-image of academics as people who are intrinsically motivated by their work; in other words they may be inclined to downplay this factor.

Illustrating the significance of early career, doctoral level mobility (which was highlighted in the data in the previous chapter) Italian Sara (doctoral student in history) and Greek music technologist Yiannis addressed the issue of access from the perspective of students looking for postgraduate study, echoing Guth and Gill's (2008) findings that lack of what they term 'viable opportunities' at this level were important motivations for mobility away from Bulgaria and Poland. Sara referred to Italy's 'really closed' system of entry to PhD positions,[52] whilst Yiannis spoke of the problems that he had had as a student trying to find a suitable course at home in Greece. In both cases these situations were resolved through a move to the UK.

Respondents exiting from the German system emerged as interesting case studies of how several factors can intersect to foster a strong pressure for mobility. These factors have been explored in some depth by a number of scholars (see, for example, Harley, Muller-Camen & Collin 2004; Musselin 2005; Musselin 2010), and include the problems of closure, or lock out, from the higher education sector at early career stages; the expectation of mobility in the post-doctoral phase, which is 'more or less "a must"' (Teichler 2012, p. 940); the requirement of a *habilitation*, in effect a second doctorate, in order to fully enter German academia and which extends the period of early career insecurity often into a candidates' middle age; and the intense competition for later career positions. Finally, the doctoral phase itself is characterised by a strong 'master-disciple' relationship with supervisors, which defines post-PhD opportunities. In spite of reforms to the German system at the beginning of this century designed to address these problems of career entry (Enders & Musselin 2008 provide a brief summary), these factors nevertheless contribute to an outflow of early career academics, many of whom do not return (Berning 2003; Enders & Musselin 2008).

German physicist Dominik explained the factors behind his own international mobility (although he could have also moved intersectorally out of academia). Being part of a demographic bulge contributed to his own career decisions, with reforms arriving too late for his age group of mid- to late-40 year olds to benefit:

> …in my generation [there] was a bottleneck with positions […], it's one of the [largest] birth generations and during the whole time, the whole academic university system was under extreme financial strain. Moreover, in Germany they did not use in my field during that time the lecturer-type permanent position, so all permanent positions [were] either full or associate professorships, and that's why in my generation the [majority] did not get permanent posts in Germany but either you had to make a career shift in your late 30s or early 40s, or many of us ended up in the United States, in the United Kingdom, in France. [Interviewer: Is that still a problem in Germany at the moment?] Well, let's say they try to do something now for the younger generation. Well there's currently, despite continuing

[52] Moreover, Sara's situation in her home country was complicated by national geography: her home city was somewhat peripheral to the rest of the Italian system, with a limited population and a small higher education sector.

> financial strain, there is now a bit more resources put into creating posts. But it's then specifically they're targeting younger people so my generation would now be considered too old or overqualified or too senior for these types of positions.

Ultimately, Dominik's experience suggests a type of mobility which, though not forced, was certainly more coerced than sought:

> …clearly in Germany I was running out of options. I mean, I had interviewed at that point twice in Germany for chair level positions and made it kind of [to the] last three, last two, but not the top.

Access to positions was cited as an issue in the USA also. Whilst the dominant perception, and indeed reality, of the USA is as a receiving system of internationally mobile academics, conditions at early career stages can be difficult, particularly in the context of an increasing number of temporary and insecure positions (O'Meara, Terosky & Neumann 2008). American psychologist Alex, although driven to migrate primarily by other factors, nevertheless found the 'severe selection' processes of the tenure system (Enders & Musselin 2008, p. 134) in his home country discouraging. In his case mobility was an explicit exit strategy:

> I think I wouldn't be that interested in a position in the States [...,] the States has a tenure system which is quite difficult and I know many of my colleagues, or just friends, who have done lots of great work, published in all sorts of great journals and still had trouble gaining tenure and it just seems like a very difficult path and so coming to Europe or going to Asia is also a way of kind of avoiding the tenure difficulties.

Mixed up in concerns about access were a number of other factors relating to careers, such as the quality or variety of institutions in particular places. Chinese citizen Harry (electronic and electrical engineering), for example, was concerned with the quality of opportunities for collaboration and publication in his home country. His comments suggest that even as policy driven development of the academic system begins to take effect, funding is inadequate to support early career researchers:

> …many [academic papers published in China] are rubbish I think. Yeah, the numbers are increasing because they [the government] encourage them to publish, but for high quality probably not. I think a very small portion of them are high quality basically, because […] most of the researchers, such as post-docs, in China, they have to make a living first. It's not a well-paid job […] in China a post-doc is not very well paid, a very small amount of money is given to you, so you have to make a living based on that.

The nature of disciplines and specialisations, particularly in smaller systems, can motivate migration for tertiary study or work. In her own sub-branch of sociology, sexuality and gender studies, Swiss Giulia told of how there was 'nothing like it in Switzerland at the time so [studying there] wasn't an option'. Similarly, Danish bioscientist Ingrid found that 'within the exact field I came from I would

not have had great chances of finding a job in Denmark really. I could obviously change it somewhat within other branches of physiology or something but [...] there wouldn't have been a great choice in Denmark to be honest'.

Wider contexts in home country affecting career and mobility decisions

The cases discussed above have focused on academics from countries which are politically, socially and economically more or less stable. At the other end of the spectrum, wider national contexts of war, political instability or civil unrest impact on individuals in ways that make the act of outward mobility less voluntary, but rather an attempt to 'minimise their risk rather than maximise their utility' (Fischer, Martin & Straubhaar 1997, p. 50). The trajectories and timings of mobility triggered by these factors are not uniform, however. For example, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 was followed by a major exodus of scientists and academics. Russian mathematician Tanya left shortly after this, soon after completing her undergraduate studies, to finish her tertiary education in Germany. Alone amongst all the respondents, Tanya was driven by what she described as 'asylum seeking reasons'.

Tanya's fellow mathematician and Russian citizen Vadim, on the other hand, older and at a later career stage, observed the political changes from a relatively privileged position at an elite Russian institution, Naukograd.[53] In his decision to move can be seen many of the other factors so far discussed, even if they do not all apply directly to him: position-blocking by older generations, ongoing short stays mitigating the need for longer-term migration, and the difficulty of carrying out work that would enable upward career mobility due to the low quality of available opportunities. At the same time, he had enough career capital to exert a good deal of control over the timing of his move:

> …as soon as the [Iron] Curtain was up many people left almost immediately as soon as they had a chance. I was sitting there for longer than many, for some reason I was hoping that, well, now with the new regime it may change, things may change to the better and then when I found that probably it wasn't […,] I just cannot sit and wait sort of when things get better, that I need to do things while I can. And so when we moved, in 1997, whereas some people had left quite a few years ago, yes, that was of course a factor.
>
> There are still people there, mainly people who are old enough to not want to leave […,] they are past retirement age, but some of those who are active research-wise, because there is no compulsory retirement in Russia so basically you get to the pension age, you get your pension but you can continue work, your job, and continue getting your salary. There is no contradiction between getting your salary and pension as long as you are able to fulfill your duties so, some of them continue working.
>
> There are a few, younger ones [still left in Russia] who somehow managed to stay there and be active. Usually, that's at the [cost] of going forwards and backwards [internationally] and

[53] Naukograd is an alias for a leading institute of mathematical sciences in the former Soviet Union.

> they may have some reasons why they didn't want to go to the West full-time, instead sort of they risked going forwards and backwards. That's not an easy life because, well, obviously it's an uncertainty. Either you will get the next grant or you will not.

Less dramatically, perhaps, biologist Baqer (Libya)[54] and psychologist Carlota (Venezuela) reported how their decisions were motivated, at least in part, by the problematic political and academic contexts at home. Baqer described his work in the peripheral system of his home country as beset with multiple problems. In order to be productive and conduct quality research he had little choice but to leave:

> …it's very difficult, and [there is] some very good research [in Libya] but it's very difficult, very difficult you know, and very difficult for many other reasons possibly some even political, like for example there are some restrictions from the government […] and there is not enough money to do research, there is no system in place to do research. Essentially they're turning a lot of [applications down] for research projects but this is really, if you compare this with other countries, there's not big money […] This is really maybe one of the biggest reasons, because to advance my career and really to publish more [I had to leave]

The effect of a conducive environment for research after his move to an English institution was dramatic on Baqer. He reported that, 'in Libya my publication range was one to two articles per year; when I came to England this is now about, I'm approaching ten per year'. Baqer's experience seems to suggest that what is known about the correlation between highly reputed institutional and work group contexts and greater productivity could equally apply to national contexts.[55] It also indicates the significance of funding and infrastructure for the practice of sciences such as biology, and the possibility of circumventing national and global academic stratification through mobility.

For other respondents it was not only the research possibilities that were constrained by place. At home in Venezuela, Carlota had been dissatisfied with the lack of job security and the ways in which student democracy in universities resulted in unstable careers based on popularity, and unpredictable administration. Speaking of her relatives, still working in universities in Venezuela, she told of how vulnerable academics could be: 'it's secure, but one day the President gets up and says "I'm going to get rid of her"'. These two examples, of Baqer and Carlota, demonstrate the variety of functions of academic work and how the environments in particular places can impinge on one or more of them to the extent that mobility becomes desirable or necessary.

[54] These interviews were conducted prior to the situation in Libya deteriorated in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

[55] Hermanowicz (2012) provides a brief review of the literature which relates organisational contexts to productivity.

Temporality: serendipity, triggers and careers

The biographies of a few of the interviewees reflect the ways in which unexpected career opportunities can lead to equally unexpected mobility. They point to the significance of 'trigger' factors which catalyse motivation into action (Ackers & Gill 2008; Richardson & McKenna 2002). Ghanaian geographer Tano's story is an illustrative case of how the chance to undertake a significant career change arose unexpectedly, and resulted in multiple migrations. Tano had been working on development projects in his home country of Ghana for some years when he fell into conversation with a visiting American professor:

> …on our way back from the field, [the American professor] asked me to sit next to him on the coach. So we had a chat and he said, 'so where did you do your PhD?' and I said, 'oh, I don't have a PhD', [he said] 'oh I see, what about MBA?' I said, 'no I don't have an MBA' [...] and I just told I had a first degree and then I had a post-graduate. He said, 'no, no, no, no, no, no, leave this job, go on, and go back to school because you are excellent, you've just done everything, there's nothing more I think you have to learn on this job. You are too young to be here carrying on so look out for an opportunity to study and then I will be happy to support you […]. If there's a need, let me know'. So [...] I started looking for courses.

French historian Thomas had a similar story. Although his decision to change career was his own and followed a long period of contemplation, it was ultimately made fairly suddenly and brought with it significant changes and mobility:

> …between my master's degree and my advanced diploma I wasn't sure whether I would actually do a PhD. [...] I wanted to be […] a museum curator, so I spent three years preparing for state exams and at the end of these three years I decided that actually I would rather do a PhD and do research rather than be a civil servant in a museum basically.

Whilst Tano's and Thomas's experiences suggest, at first sight, a sudden and dramatic decision, it is clear that a long period of professional practice or contemplation had prepared them for the opportunities and decisions that they ultimately made. Thomas's case, furthermore, is not untypical in that he acted upon his decision in a fairly spontaneous and limited way, i.e. he made only one application and was successful.

The expectation of mobility

For many interviewees, there was a sense that mobility, international or otherwise, was expected of them. This mobility could take the form of a single significant migration to establish a career elsewhere, one or a small number of short-term moves in order to enhance employability at home or, alternatively, it could mean ongoing and regular moves between academic systems over the course of a career. Systems differ in the ways the expectation of mobility manifests, however, creating a complex and differentiated regional and global landscape. As observed above, there is a

good deal of out-migration from the German system due to problems of access to stable early career academic posts. In Switzerland, one of the more internationalised labour markets, short-term research outward mobility has become 'institutionalised' as a 'normative requirement of a successful academic career' (Leemann 2010, p. 612). Low levels of outward mobility of citizen academics from the English sector (see chapter four), suggest that the internationalisation of English institutions does not particularly enforce an expectation of international mobility; the USA, moreover, has one of the least internationally-oriented systems in the world in terms of the outlooks and activities of US-citizen academics (Cummings & Finkelstein 2012). Both the US and the British cases exhibit, in this sense, the characteristics of core receiving systems in which the inflow of academics (or 'academic in-sourcing', Cantwell 2011) from outside sustains internationalisation (Enders 2006; Locke & Bennion 2010).

Whatever the form it takes, there is a clear perception amongst academics of the career benefits of international mobility. A study of academics in an Australian business school revealed the perception of a competitive workplace advantage for those with international experience (Mayson & Schapper 2007), a finding echoed in IDEA Consult's (2010a) survey of researchers in academia and industry in Europe. The impacts of particular geographies of mobility are important, for example in the enduring importance of 'Been to America' on academic CVs in Europe (Enders & De Weert 2003, p. 21). These finding seems to reflect in academia the changing priorities associated with increasing career 'boundarylessness' observed in other sectors (Carr, Inkson & Thorn 2005; Kaulisch & Enders 2005). However, Marginson (2007c) has cautioned that academic careers are often perceived to be more internationally mobile than they actually are, precisely because of this ideological element of 'expectation'.

Whilst it is not always the case that the expectation of mobility is a feature of the external environment (as opposed to a desired and psychological orientation), it certainly appeared to be true for interviewees from certain labour markets (and, indeed, this expectation has been found to be stronger in some countries than in others (Ackers 2004)). Physicist Daniel, for example, reported that in his home country of Germany, once a young researcher has completed a doctorate, 'then it's time to leave and anyway to get a job in an English-speaking country [...which] gives already this extra bit that may be needed further on in your career.' Daniel's comments suggest a pragmatic approach to mobility probably shaped by the conditions in Germany mentioned already, and which might be a one-time event. Dimitra on the other hand appeared to feel pressure quite strongly to undertake repeat moves, specifically linking experiences of other systems to career mobility:

> …people say, you, know if you want to get a job you should move every five years or something but that is the truth, the reality, isn't it? If you want to be promoted you should

> be moving and actually I think if you want to get higher positions in higher education you have to experience other systems, you have to experience other universities, it's wrong to be in a university for a long time.

In fact, almost all of the academics interviewed alluded, to some degree, to the fact that international mobility was simply part of an academic career. For some this mobility could take the form of short-term, in-job travel such as attendance at conferences or visits to fieldwork sites overseas (types of mobility which are explored in a subsequent chapter). For most it followed that, just as their disciplinary and intellectual landscapes crossed borders and encompassed centres distributed globally, so they themselves would also be mobile. Previous research, in fact, has asserted a disciplinary dimension to the expectation of mobility, i.e. that it is strongest in the natural sciences where access to large infrastructural centres demands mobility (Ackers 2005a).

Again, the key selection criteria of non-UK citizens as the sample must influence this finding; as research has shown, non-mobile citizen academics in any system are less internationally active across many dimensions compared to their non-citizen and internationally mobile peers (BIS 2011; Goastellec & Pekari 2013; Locke & Bennion 2010). In contrast, systems characterised by career paths anchored from early stages in a single institution (known pejoratively as 'in-breeding') are less productive, less internationally engaged and more inclined towards 'navel gazing' (Cruz-Castro & Sanz-Menéndez 2010; Horta, Sato & Yonezawa 2010; Horta, Veloso & Grediaga 2010).

Motivating mobility: Personal considerations

Of course, not all mobility is purely or even primarily professionally inspired. Personal qualities such as a sense of adventure or a desire to explore and experience the world have been articulated by some internationally mobile academics (Richardson & McKenna 2002, 2003), and Russell King (2002) has pointed out the powerful role of romantic love, what he terms 'the libidinal factor' (p. 100). In fact, although research on academic mobility has rarely found non-professional considerations to be significant,[56] many personal, family and social factors are nevertheless brought to bear in decisions about mobility, its geographies and its timings. These will be considered now.

Family, partners and caring

Considerations of a personal nature seemed to take precedence for several of the interviewees. As with career related factors, the personal situations of the interviewees were associated with particular phases in the life course and, in the case of partnering, could not necessarily be planned

[56] See for example, IDEA Consult's (2010b) work on European researcher mobility, which finds that personal factors are relatively unimportant in motivating mobility – although they are crucial in deterring it.

for. A well-established strand of research into migration practices has emphasised the family rather than individual nature of decision making (Boyd 1989; Cooke 2008; Pflegerl 2002). In studies of academic career related mobility, families have not always emerged as important considerations. For example, families tend to be fairly absent as a factor in initial outward mobility, though prominent in return decisions (Ackers et al. 2009; Baruch, Budhwar & Khatri 2007; Gupta, Nerad & Cerny 2003).

Other differences in outcome could be the result of methodological decisions or the framing of research questions: a tight focus on careers may lead a respondent to neglect non-professional factors whereas a whole-life approach may lead to their inclusion. Sampling from elite institutions may also yield different results from a sample drawn from less central systems or institutions. For example, Simpson's (2012) research on mobility of academics to institutions in twelve 'world ranked' universities found that families were one of the less important factors; they were, for example, less important than university reputation, salary, departmental reputation and quality of life, although it is worth pointing out that the majority of the respondents were male. In contrast, Richardson's (2004) study of British expatriate academics in Singapore, New Zealand, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates reported an important role for family considerations.[57] Moreover, Richardson's research highlights the role of family members as active participants in the decision-making process and the difficulty of disaggregating the individual from the family context in this regard.

Partnering and other personal relationships resulted for the interviewees in both mobility and immobility in different cases and in different ways. Academics, women more so than men, are likely to be partnered to other academics (Ackers & Gill 2008), which raises issues of dual careers, mobility and 'trailing spouses'.[58] Research, for example, has indicated that, in academia, dual career partnering inhibits female though not male mobility (Ackers & Gill 2008; Moguérou 2004), and leads to the exit of women from science careers at post-doctoral level and beyond (Ackers 2004). Baqer's case, however, points to the importance of negotiation in mobility decision making, and the ways in which different partner's needs are prioritised at different times. Whilst Baqer was motivated by a number of factors discussed above, it was ultimately his wife's desire to come to England to study which triggered the family's move.

[57] It is likely that these very different findings are the result of not only methodology (quantitative versus qualitative approaches), but also the disciplinary perspectives adopted (academic careers and migration (Simpson) versus mobile careers in general and self-initiated expatriation (Richardson)).

[58] Issues of gender are cross-cutting and often central to understanding the ways in which mobility is undertaken. Rather than addressing gender in an ad hoc manner, however, it will be considered in a discrete section of its own, as outlined in more detail at the end of this chapter.

In Baqer's case it is not absolutely clear who the 'trailing' spouse is, but neither is his case entirely typical. Negotiations were evident in a number of stories, though in no case was it reported that a male partner had adopted the role of trailing spouse. In several cases, however, the opposite was the case. PhD candidate Lucy had left her home in Malta to accompany her British husband to England; and Ingrid had decided not to return to her home in Denmark in order to stay with her partner in England, which had precipitated a change in career. Others reported the real and potential impacts of mobility and distance on existing or previous relationships and, for early career women in particular, the choice between partnering and career seemed always present. The most powerful assessment of the professional implications of personally-motivated mobility was made by Madeline, who had emigrated from the USA purely for her relationship. She referred to the professional risk she took as 'career suicide'.

In addition, it seems intuitive to suppose that caring responsibilities, especially for children, should mitigate either *against* mobility, or shape it in particular directions or in its timing. For example, the presence of children has been found to be less inhibiting at early career stages, when presumably children are younger, than at later return or onward mobility phases (Ackers et al. 2009). This points to the important determining role of life course in mobility decisions, which is discussed below. Interestingly, a number of interviewees indicated that, to some extent, children could in fact be a trigger. For example, an additional motivation for mobility for Baqer and his wife was the feeling that spending time in a foreign education system would give their children a relative advantage, specifically in terms of language, on their return home to Libya. Vadim reported that his child's welfare in Russia, linked to her age and education, was a pressing motivating concern: 'I sort of had to consider the future of my child, sort of whether she would get an education and what kind of education; would I be able to afford it?' It is also useful to note that recent research has pointed to the role of children as active participants in the migration decision-making process (Bushin 2009), though that was not something in evidence here.

An interesting example of personal and professional factors intersecting in multiple mobility decisions was the case of Italian health scientist Luca. Having initially moved to Australia as a single person to undertake research and study, he had subsequently married an Australian and become a father. He felt that he had reached a point in his life at which proximity to his own family in Italy had become important,[59] and the frequency of visits he would like to make would be prohibitively expensive from Australia. The 'push' factors in this case were clearly family- and distance-related, though with the reference point being not his country of origin but from another host country. The

[59] Richardson's (2004) study also found that extended family relationships played a role in shaping the geographies of academic's mobility.

trigger of having a young child activated a decision that was also rooted in a sense of adventure he shared with his wife to live somewhere else and was ultimately, as he put it, 'sort of [for] private personal reasons more than for anything'.

Notwithstanding the examples above, family and relationships tended to inhibit rather than motivate or facilitate mobility. To the extent that they enabled mobility, it was because familial obligations were absent or flexible. Hence for many of the interviewees, mobility appears most possible when they were young and single or were able to conduct long-distance romantic relationships, and when parents were not yet elderly. In such cases the significance of particular places was emphasised, particularly to the extent that places of origin lacked a determining stickiness and possible mobility destinations could be judged on the merits of their academic and career magnetism. In addition, whilst the literature points to the role of family and friendship networks in facilitating migration in general (Faist 1997), this does not seem to be the case for academic career mobility and, apart from Dimitra, it seems to have been not so at all for the majority of interviewees. This could, perhaps, be due to the nature of the mobility in question, which can be characterised as highly individualised and career orientated in many cases, rather than shaped by other migratory agendas.

In some cases the experiences of mobility in families or social circles may also have contributed to the predisposition to mobility in the cohort. In other words, they may be from relatively cosmopolitan families, as King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003) have found in their study of internationally mobile UK undergraduates.[60] Several of the interviewees' biographies certainly suggest a broader family or social context open to mobility. Harry, for example, had not planned to go abroad and in fact felt that chance had played a key role in his own mobility. However, he also spoke of how, in China, 'many of my classmates they fully prepared, they did their MSc they passed all the English tests, they prepared a lot to go abroad'. More specifically, his own sister had studied in Japan. It is probably important to put this last point in the context; from an English perspective, due to broader cultural and historical traditions, international mobility may be regarded as more exceptional than it is elsewhere. There may, in other words, be nothing remarkable in international mobility generally, educationally or in terms of academic careers that demands particular familial biographies amongst incoming mobile academics.

[60] To be accurate, this conclusion is drawn only tentatively, and in the context of other perhaps more significant factors such as financial resources which structure the social composition of mobile students.

Personal dispositions and the life-course

An openness or disposition to mobility may contribute to an explanation of why these academics, and not others, began their migratory stories in the first place. Experiences of mobility may foster in mobile academics a form of 'transnational identity capital' through the development of a cosmopolitan outlook and a relative openness to further travel (Kim 2010). Specific characteristics might include 'courage [,...] resilience [, and...] a preparedness to undergo self-change and even self-transformation' (Barnett & Phipps 2005, pp. 14-15). Terms that have emerged to describe mobile populations, and which capture some of these qualities, include 'border artistes' (Beck 2007; Doherty, Mu & Shield 2009), 'explorers' (Richardson & McKenna 2002), and 'edgeworkers' (Williams & Baláž 2012). Richardson and McKenna's (2002) metaphor of 'the Explorer' is important in that it may also point to a particularly individualist sense of self.[61]

On the other hand it could be that these attitudes are necessary or acquired, and for many supply a gloss of agency to otherwise limited choices.[62] Dominant discourses, particularly those of the global talent wars, valorise the qualities of adventure, entrepreneurialism and calculated self-interest that seem to be embodied in the internationally mobile. However, as these chapters reveal, mobility cannot be stripped of its baggage in this way; it is in fact deeply rooted in and driven by economic and professional contexts, geographies of opportunity and exclusion, and personal and social lives.

Moreover, elsewhere Froese (2011) found that whilst adventure and search for new experiences were considerations for expatriate academics in South Korea, they were less important than expected; perhaps because the respondents were older and more risk averse. It could be important that academic careers are undertaken disproportionately by younger, relatively privileged populations[63] who already have cosmopolitan outlooks and practices which normalise international mobility in education, career and social and family life. Ferro (2006) has noted the importance of a pre-migration socialisation phase in which a migration 'aspiration' was fostered amongst Romanian IT workers; whilst elsewhere there has emerged a consensus that early experiences of mobility are crucial in the development of a positive orientation to mobility later (see below).

[61] In an interesting intervention, Wang (2005) has argued that Chinese academic emigrants to the USA tend to be already ideologically aligned to the culture of their host country. This is a product, she argues, of their competitive and bourgeois class backgrounds.

[62] Recent research has explored, for example, the ways in which younger academics both are subject to and challenge contemporary neoliberal reforms in academic work (Archer 2008), and the ways in which emerging practices interact with gender, class and family (Clegg 2008) in the construction of academic identities.

[63] As discussed earlier, there is a sense in which academics in general and internationally mobile academics in particular can be seen as privileged though not elite. Non-citizen academics in various labour markets have been found to have more highly educated parents than non-mobile academics, a common indicator of class background (Goastellec & Pekari 2013).

The 'sense of adventure' reported by one of the interviewees, Luca, reflects the importance of identity and disposition in mobility decisions (particularly in initial moves, discussed below). In some cases this manifested as a sudden decision seemingly out of the blue, in others it seemed to be the product of a long-held ambition to travel and experience elsewhere; in either situation it frequently coincided with a particular life stage. For example, although her first experience of mobility was within her home country of the United States, bioscientist Madeline's choice of undergraduate university was nevertheless based in part on her desire to move away from home for the first time: 'That was part of the reason for choosing it, I was 18. So it was about 250 miles from home'.[64] Both Luca and Australian historian Robert felt a need for a change as a result of an unrelated and significant life experience, or just having reached a particular age. Luca told how of his initial move from Spain to Australia came about:

> I was ready for a kind of [...] going, going somewhere else because, you know, I'd some – I lost a good friend from illness whatever and it just felt that I wasn't, I needed to do something different, it was not good to be in that same kind of situation all the time.

For Robert the decision came after what appears to have been a long period of consideration:

> Yeah, I think, I certainly wasn't unhappy at [my previous institution…], it was a combination of things, I think I was getting a little bored there [...] But much more important I think was [that] I turned 50 last year. My partner and I had started talking about possibly moving to England, [...] we'd always thought about trying to live in Britain at some point and I think I got to the stage where I kind of thought, well, maybe at 50 it's a good time to do that because it means I have then 15 to 20 years here as well to actually build a career here.

A further, and very personal, motivation for mobility was articulated by Alex. Alex is ethnically Chinese, and indicated that his mobility was partly led by a desire to 'fit in' somewhere. Very little work exists on the particular ways in which ethnic minority academics experience and negotiate mobility, although critical work has noted the essentialising discourses of diaspora in both scholarship and policy (Fahey & Kenway 2010). Research in the UK and elsewhere has highlighted the under-representation of, and challenges that face, ethnic minority academics, but this research strand has not extended into studies of mobility. A partial exception is Fenton, Carter and Modood's (2000) work, which has highlighted the ways in which a lack of appropriate cultural capital in the academic labour market contributes in subtle ways to the closure of prestige roles to UK-citizen ethnic minority academics in the UK. However, their study does not explore the particular

[64] Madeline's mobility points to the potential utility of including internal as well as international mobility in analysis, which King (2002) has argued for.

intersections of ethnicity and nationality.[65] Alex reported on his experience of growing up as different to the people around him contributed to a sense of being 'out of place at home':

> You know I grew up in a place where I could never find clothing that fit me you know, nothing was the same, the right size in some sense, like food or anything and so going someplace where you're right in the middle of the distribution is quite interesting, and yes so even though I was living in New Mexico I was kind of a foreigner right so, you know, the first twenty years of my life you could say I was in like a foreign land socially.

Enabling mobility: professional considerations

Whilst motivations or 'push' factors are important in understanding why mobility occurs, it is also necessary to look at the factors that facilitate it. These facilitating factors contribute to a person's 'motility': the potential for mobility, or 'mobility capital' that Flamm and Kaufmann (2006) speak of. Although Flamm and Kaufmann refer primarily to day to day kinds of mobilities, it is a useful construct with which to approach the social, cultural and other resources which combine to enable international career or work related movement.

Networks and relationships

It is important to recognise that mobility through networks is not an end in itself but rather a central element of academic career building; networks constitute a key element of motility in academic careers, and also facilitate it, shape its directions and perhaps even 'make' migrants. Gary Rhoades has linked cross-border networks to '…the upward mobility of individual academics, who can leverage those networks for opportunities and resources that enable them to advance in their careers' (Rhoades 2007, p. 138). Mobility in early career phases (including doctoral study) is wide spread, crucial in establishing an academic career, and frequently draws upon the existing immediate and extended networks of supervisors (Ackers & Gill 2008; Millard 2005). Luca, for example, spoke of how he was able to find an early career position overseas, 'thanks to the connection I made with the supervisor that I had through my PhD while I was working on my Honours Degree'.

Although his initial mobility was only within his home country of Germany, Dominik's experiences demonstrate the important role that supervisory relationships have in providing access to the positions and funding which shape mobility as well the strong dependency of doctoral candidates on

[65] It is likely that a quantitative study of the mobility of ethnic minority academics amongst mobile populations would not be at all possible. Minority status is relative, often subjective and in many places asking for or recording it is a taboo. It is also likely that the correlation of minority status and other metrics of exclusion write non-dominant national middle classes out of mobility. This is not always the case, however: the exclusion of ethnic Chinese students from Malaysian higher education has led to this group dominating out-migration relative to ethnic Malays.

their supervisors in Germany. A series of moves initiated by his supervisor led Dominik from institution to institution across Germany:

> …the professor who supervised my master's thesis was ready to take me on as a PhD student, he also had the funding. However, he felt that he, well, did not quite have the expertise in the field that I wanted to get, to write my thesis so he drafted in a younger colleague [...] However, […] a few months after I started, my second supervisor got a chair position […] in Munster and then invited me to change and to come, to work with him in Munster, that's why I changed [...] Some of the contacts I made were very helpful in developing my PhD thesis, and also indirectly helped me to get a post-doctoral position after my PhD; so the only offer for a post-doctoral post I had when I finished my PhD was [from] somebody whom I have met [...] Then […] my previous adviser got a chair-level position at the Humboldt University and then invited me to come to Berlin as a post-doctoral fellow.

The importance of networks intersects with other important features of mobility discussed already. For example, early career networks in some cases were established during previous episodes of mobility. This was true of German historian Fabian, whose mobility, in addition, revealed his embeddedness in elite geographies of academia:

> I was awarded a one-year Oxford scholarship halfway through my studies and I spent that at Oxford […] where I was taught by [several leading figures in my field][66], and set up contact with [my future doctoral supervisor] and having completed my master's in Heidelberg I returned to Oxford for the doctorate.

To put Fabian's account in context, research has found that the prestige of an institution can play a crucial role in securing a young academic's place in elite circuits. Roebken (2007), for example, investigated the social network capital of early career German academics from 60 business administration departments. She found that they tended to be recruited from and by institutions of similar reputational standing, and for mobility between reputational strata to be more commonly downward. This phenomenon facilitated the mobility and increased the opportunities of those from elite institutions and departments and diminished the mobility and opportunities of those from less renowned ones.[67]

In short, as these examples show, networks are in many ways the key to mobility. There were a couple of exceptions amongst the respondents, where jobs in other countries had been secured through responding to advertised positions and taking part in open recruitment. More commonly networks functioned to communicate opportunities, with supervisors as gatekeepers and, implicitly, guarantors of a candidate's quality.

[66] Names deleted for anonymity.

[67] This, unsurprisingly, appears to be a fairly enduring feature of academic work, and common across national contexts, as studies of the academic profession in the USA have shown (Caplow & McGee 1958; Crane 1970).

The role of communication technologies

The ways in which ICTs facilitate mobility have been implied above, that is, they enable academics to enter a global recruitment pool for academic positions. It is the norm, for example, for English institutions to advertise vacancies on their own websites or on those of several academic or scientific publications or dedicated academic recruitment agencies (Dowds 2010; Universities and Colleges Employers Association 2008). Moreover, and importantly at earlier (and pre-)career stages ICTs can enable initial contact and network building. For example, Sara was able to turn a fairly speculative ambition into reality through a search on the internet:

> I was working in a shop and I was, I was trying to get something else so, through the internet, I got an advertisement from the school of history and the studentship [at Daleside University, and] I contacted the then director of the school of history to enquire in terms of if I could apply [...] So he say that yes, I could apply for the studentship and he put me in contact with, the [leader] for the project, the studentship programme [who] is now my first supervisor. So I wrote to him and he wrote me back and, well, I was amazed at the speed of the process.

The ease of making contact using technology was alluded to also by Luca who, having been made aware of a potential contact in Australia,

> …just wrote to him once an email asking him a few questions and explaining what I was doing and more or less a correspondence was born then, and after I finished my honours degree I asked him whether I was able to go [to Australia]. I could have gone there for a summer course and he suggested 'why don't you come and we try to bring on this study, the research you suggested through a PhD?' I applied and I was lucky enough to get [it].

Guided by a professor in a London university who was also a family friend, Dimitra was able to use the internet to scope the field she was interested in and identify a potential supervisor:

> I looked around to find somebody who could supervise me who was in London initially and I, that person was not able to supervise me, and then I got in touch with my supervisor […], I got an email from his PA to come and see him so I met him and that was it.

ICTs therefore can be seen to be playing an important role in orienting new and potential academics to a field, and in mapping the intellectual landscape and the key figures that populate it. Moreover, they can enable individuals to initiate contact at very early (pre-doctoral) phases and mitigate some of the problems of access experienced by those outside the mainstream of the English and other core systems. In the same way, the findings here suggest that ICTs may be changing the ways in which individuals are able to act as gatekeepers or 'connectors' by virtue of their positions in networks and, moreover, that strong relationships may be becoming less important than 'weak ties' (Granovetter 1973; Millard 2005). Finally, in a very concrete way they appear to be instrumental in

creating an international labour pool[68] of researchers from which institutions can draw. Whilst this final point is a key argument in discourses of global talent competition and excellence in elite institutions, and perhaps to some degree is widening access to opportunities, there is a clear need for research to increase understanding of how exactly this works in practice.

Enabling mobility: non-professional considerations

The various factors that contribute to the possibility of a person taking up an opportunity for mobility extend beyond the professional. Moreover, professional and non-professional dimensions of mobility are not always easily disaggregated. As noted in the discussion above, for example, Dimitra from Greece worked through a personal network in order to identify and access study opportunities in England. Other non-professional factors include the kinds of cultural capital that have been observed to give internationally mobile academics and students a positional advantage in labour markets (Findlay et al. 2006; King et al. 2011; Waters 2009a). Two important features of this, language and international experience, are discussed below.

Language

A recent study of the publishing behaviours of early career academics in Europe (Anderson 2013) has challenged the assumptions of a homogenising turn to the use of English as an academic lingua franca; instead it is argued that there is a need for a more critical perspective that recognises disciplinary, career stage and national policy differences in more nuanced ways. Nevertheless, the English language continues to regulate access to the opportunities for participation in the global academic system and the labour markets of the Anglophone world (Lillis & Curry 2010). In other cases perceived issues with language have been found to lead to lower output in terms of publications and other activities.[69] Moreover, international mobility is often strategically undertaken in order to acquire language skills that are perceived to have future utility (Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008).

The gatekeeping function of language was explicitly noted by at least one of the interviewees, though at the same time his bilingualism was acknowledged as an asset: native Spanish speaker Ernesto reported that the ability to speak other languages was

> …very relevant you know, I think clearly for me it was the fact that I was not British that allowed me to have opportunities when I first came to academia that others didn't have because I could speak other languages and I had an opportunity to do things others couldn't do so I know some of the early opportunities I had were thanks to that.

[68] This international labour pool is only *potentially* indicative of an international labour market.
[69] An overview of the literature which identifies and explores the challenges for scholars operating in English as a second language is provided by Uzuner (2008).

In fact far from seeking opportunities to communicate in his mother-tongue, Ernesto, like others in his position, revealed a preference for speaking English even with colleagues and family with whom he shares the same language. On the other hand, Tano, although a confident speaker of several languages, expressed frustration and some anxiety at the ways in which his written work had been received in the past:

> The written language, we learn to write, […] we don't like to speak [it], but I realised that even when I arrived the first year, people come back and say the paper [I wrote] is a bit difficult to understand, […] when I read [academic] papers, I realised that the context and then the tone of the paper is different, I can't write like that. So that is one thing because I recently submitted a paper and then with one other colleague, [...] but then one of the reviewers said [...] it's difficult to understand.

It is possible to see and understand the frustration in Tano's comments. Language and mobility come together in two ways to inhibit career practices internationally: the first is in explicitly keeping out those not competent; the second in subtly excluding and undermining those whose language is not standard in much the same way that the unfamiliarity of academic culture excludes academics of other non-traditional ethnic or class origins (Fenton, Carter & Modood 2000; Tardy 2004; Wakeling 2010). Moreover, academics from Anglophone systems have a clear advantage in mobility opportunities in this regard, particularly as non-English systems increasingly adopt English as a medium of institution (Wachter & Maiworm 2008) and English is increasingly the dominant language of publication (Hamel 2007).[70] In addition, the ability to communicate at a sufficiently competent level in English requires a long-term investment unavailable to the less privileged, and therefore compounds other forms of exclusion (Altbach 2007b).

Earlier mobility episodes

The literature suggests that international mobility undertaken as a student is a predictor of later mobility (King et al. 2011; King & Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Papatsiba 2006) and, moreover, that one incident of mobility leads to further mobility (IDEA Consult 2010b). Certainly, the overwhelming majority of the interviewees revealed episodes of mobility during student and earlier career stages, although conclusions drawn from this ought to be cautious. Firstly, holding non-UK citizenship was a criterion of selection for interview and therefore all of them are by definition mobile; secondly, for many of the interviewees mobility has been restricted to a significant cross-border move from country of origin to England, followed by any number of subsequent moves either within England or

[70] A recent study by Adsera and Pytlikova (2012) found that the similarity between the first language of a potential migrant and that of a receiving country plays a strong role in shaping directions of mobility. However, the widespread learning of English as a second or further language across the globe, and the possibly higher returns to this study in international labour markets, may over-ride linguistic proximity in migration decisions.

between England and their country of origin before settling in their current roles (this dimension of 'place stickiness' is discussed in chapter eight).

The initial mobility episode is arguably the most challenging and, whilst it may not correlate causally with subsequent moves, it may shape an individual's perception of themselves and attitude to subsequent moves, bringing out the sense of an individual as an 'explorer' as discussed above. Thomas, from France, told of how he had given thought to travelling to Italy as an Erasmus scholar, though 'for whatever reason, I never did anything to apply for [a] position or whatever, so I actually didn't do any travels before going to the States. It was a big step actually'. This initial move was for a funded PhD position. Having overcome an initial reluctance, or indifference, to mobility, Thomas seems to have been relatively active, including a temporary move back to France, a return to the USA and a one-year fellowship in Germany, followed by a move to an institution in the south of England in 2007 and, two years later, to Daleside University. Similarly, Luca, from Italy, regarded his initial move to Australia as a 'completely full adventure, a big challenge that I took'. As noted above, his move to England also reflected a sense of adventure, but tempered in this instance by more careful consideration involving his partner and children, work and language, and proximity to his parents in his country of origin.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the factors that both motivated and enabled mobility from the countries of origin of a sample of internationally mobile, non-citizen academics based in two English universities. It explored the many ways in which the place of origin could be a motivating factor in the decision to undertake international mobility. Indeed, in many cases respondents explicitly reported the significance of systemic 'push' factors in their decisions. However, the nature of these push factors reveals the importance of accounting for specific conditions in countries of origin. In some cases initial mobility was part of an unexceptional or expected early career phase, pointing to the integration of, for example, Danish or German career paths in international academic and science systems. In Spain or Italy, in contrast, respondents reported that international mobility was a way out of systems from which they were excluded through lack of suitable personal contacts. In one case, the peripherality and lack of quality opportunities in a developing system, Libya, was a major incentive to seek better opportunities elsewhere.

In short these national contexts led respondents to see mobility in terms of necessity (access to opportunities or not getting left behind), as positional (getting ahead), or as exit (which could equally

have taken the form of an intersectoral or national[71] move). In each case it is evident that, from a career point of view, the respondents had adopted a transnational comparative perspective in which the system of origin and its opportunities were viewed relative to those elsewhere. At the same time, individuals' social and cultural capital, its transferability and usefulness, also emerged as important in both locking out of home systems (if deficient) and facilitating access to mobility opportunities. Moreover, alongside the 'expectation of mobility' that was reported to be a feature of the early stages of academic careers in many countries of origin, there was a perception that international experience would lead to a positional advantage on return.

A significant number of the interviewees had undertaken their journey to England in the first instance as students or post-docs. The attraction of the UK for this group will be explored in the following chapter, though it is important to note the relationship between this tertiary education or early career stage and the internationalisation of the English academic labour force outlined in the previous chapter. Of course, as internationally mobile people, the sample is self-selecting and thus conclusions must be drawn with caution. However, implicit (and in some cases overt) in the education/early career mobile biographies is an international orientation of families, social groups and national contexts towards the landscape of academic possibilities. Some early career respondents spoke of the lack of expertise or infrastructure in their home countries, highlighting perceived and concrete deficits which often had a disciplinary dimension and which were also implicitly comparative.

However, it is inaccurate to frame the mobility decisions of the interviewees solely in terms of career factors. Whilst in some cases undoubtedly the professional considerations were overriding, these were a minority and characteristic of earlier career and doctoral movers almost exclusively. In a small number of cases wider political or social concerns were a motivation, but for many of the respondents mobility was intimately tied up with personal and family concerns. One strength of this study was that, in sampling broadly for 'non-UK citizens' it made no presuppositions about motivations, and therefore captured both professionally motivated and other movers. In a few cases, for example, partnering or children were direct triggers for or dictated the timing of a move even if the impact on a career was negative. A final motivating factor, again implicit in many but directly identified by few, was a sense of adventure and a desire to challenge oneself through mobility.

The interviewees also discussed the factors that made their outward mobility possible. By definition, of course, all had to be proficient in English, which would tend to privilege native speakers such as

[71] Sara's peripherality in her home town, for example, was relative to the Italian as much as to a European or global system and could have been resolved with an internal move.

Australians and North Americans, and privileged sections of non-Anglophone countries; certainly in at least one case a sense of language anxiety was articulated by an academic whose English was non-standard. Doctoral supervisors and emerged, unsurprisingly, as important agents in enabling access to international networks and mobility opportunities at early career phases, and to this extent would seem to reinforce existing patterns of international activities. Finally, in one case it seems quite clear that association with an elite institution in one country had facilitated access to circuits of mobility that lead ultimately to an international move.

To conclude this chapter, there are several key points to emphasise. The first is that these findings reveal the degree to which English academia is benefitting from conditions in sending countries which encourage outward mobility. The second is that the findings reinforce the understanding of the role of mobility in doctoral and early career phases as often crucial to career building; and of the important role of doctoral and early career opportunities for triggering outward mobility. Thirdly, mobility does not begin in an individualistic vacuum but is deeply embedded in personal, family and social relationships that can inhibit or shape it, and often in professional and supervisory networks which facilitate it.

A final point must be made about the role of gender in outward mobility. This was not a question directly posed to the interviewees, which in some respects is a shortcoming though it does mean that the issues that arose did so quite naturally. In fact, almost nothing was said about gender explicitly although it is in many ways a cross-cutting theme. In terms of motivating mobility, for example, issues of gender emerged only in explorations of decision making within relationships, in which the gendered dynamics of negotiation became apparent. Besides this, it is a stark finding of the study that, whilst men spoke of the ways in which their mobility was negotiated, only women reported having moved solely for a partner and to the detriment of their careers. In addition, only women reported that relationships had ended or could potentially end because of a mobility decision, i.e. there was no assumption that a male partner would be a 'trailing spouse'. These are important issues which deserve to be explored, yet are best done with an in the light of an overview of the mobility and internationalisation process. For this reason gender will be considered in depth in a later section, although many points made here will be addressed.

Chapter 6. Directions and destinations, or, 'why England?'

The previous chapter explored the factors that led to the departure of a number of internationally mobile academics from their countries of origin. This chapter explores the processes and decisions which led them to England. However, disentangling the factors that lead to mobility from those that shape its directions is not always straightforward: destinations and origins are often linked in numerous systemic or idiosyncratic social and professional ways; often departures are triggered after a long period of aspiration for mobility; and directions of mobility are likely in many cases to be primarily institutional rather than national. Generalising about the links between mobility decisions and mobility directions is also difficult given the many factors that motivate mobility and the ways in which they come together in individual biographies. In short, simplistic notions of push and pull as relatively discrete parts of a sequential mobility or migration process are largely inadequate as explanatory frameworks.

In this chapter there follows an exploration of the experiences and practices of the sample of non-UK citizen academics interviewed for this study, focusing on the attractions of England and its institutions, the channels through which mobility occurs, the personal factors shaping directions of mobility, and the effect of the global trend of states strategically deploying migration regimes in the competition to attract and hold internationally mobile academics. First, however, the place of the England in global comparison and in international flows of academics will be explored.

National contexts and mobility in perspective

It was noted in the previous chapter that globalisation had enabled the comparison of academic systems, and their respective working conditions and career opportunities, in unprecedented ways. However, it also reported that differentials in features such as pay and conditions did not emerge as primary motivations for leaving the countries of origin in any of the interviews conducted for the study here. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to note, as Bennion and Locke (2010) have done, the significance of national contexts in general and their higher education institutions in influencing directions of flow (Bennion & Locke 2010). Certainly academic flows, both globally and regionally, evidence clearly patterned national origins and destinations (Marimon, Lietaert & Grigolo 2009; Welch 2008). In the case of England and the UK more broadly, these patterns point to relative strengths within a British Commonwealth system, a strong position within the Europe mobility system, and weaknesses compared to the USA in global terms (Kubler & DeLuca 2006; Marginson & van der Wende 2007). Kubler and DeLuca (2006) in particular identified a strong correlation between

the economic development of a country and its place in a hierarchy of destinations of mobile academics.

These patterns are evident in various analyses of mobility data, including chapter four of this thesis, but can also be placed in wider contexts of both international comparison and academic flows more generally. Analysis of UNESCO and HESA statistics revealed that in 2005-06 the UK was the second most popular destination for international students (356,080) after the US (590,158), and was significantly more popular than the third ranked country of Germany (259,799) (Kemp et al. 2008). Doctoral holders, too, illustrate the uneven yet patterned flows, with the USA being the dominant in general and in particular the main destination for PhDs from Asia; whilst the UK has something of a global profile but sits within a European system (Auriol 2010). However, patterns of origin and destination are not stable. Mobility into and out of the UK appears increasingly Europeanised and less US-focused (WSA 2005). Furthermore, the declining place of the USA in international flows of doctorate holders is coming to be seen as a threat to the sustainability of science and engineering subjects by policy makers there (O'Hara 2009).

It is not only actual mobility destinations but preferences also which indicate the UK's position. Kemp *et al*.'s (2008) report analysed the results of a survey of over 19,000 international postgraduate students in the UK and found that for 83% the UK was the first choice, though 63% had also considered the US. Confirming other research findings on the global and regional nature of flows, Asian students favoured the US as a second choice; EU students favoured elsewhere in the EU; and Australia was a significant alternative only for students from Malaysia and India (Kemp et al. 2008). In addition, Avveduto's (2001) study of Italian doctoral and academic international mobility revealed that the USA was the most preferred destination (indicated by 33.5% of her respondents) although the UK was the most common actual destination (24% or respondents).

Placing the 'fluid, dynamic and internationally collaborative' (BIS 2011, p. 14) character of the UK research system in context, Bennion and Locke (2010) propose a three-fold typology of academic systems to locate them in global academic flows. The first, the *study abroad* model, is characterised by 'the movement of individuals out of a national higher education system to undertake doctoral training abroad before re-entering the system for postdoctoral study and/or employment'; the second, the *magnetic* model, by 'the flow of academics to a higher education system for study, work or both'; thirdly, the *self-contained* model, by 'the internal movement of academic staff from study to employment within a single higher education system' (Bennion & Locke 2010, p. S12). The authors argue that the UK (and the USA) is both 'magnetic' and 'self-contained', though not 'study abroad' in terms of their typology of academic systems. It is worth remembering, however, that framing these flows in terms of national contexts masks nuanced field- and institution-specific trends.

Geographies of international mobility into the UK are not merely national, but map specifically on to an higher education system which is diverse in terms of disciplines, assets and prestige; competition for academic staff is therefore conducted at a local as well as a national level. The dominance of the Golden Triangle institutions of London, Oxford and Cambridge in terms of receiving non-citizen academics is well-recorded (Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010 and chapter three this thesis), as are some of the reputational and intellectual qualities that enable them to stand out in the UK and internationally (Ducatel et al. 2001; Mahroum 1999b). Lock and Bennion (2009), moreover, have highlighted the stratification of institutions in the UK by 'origin, status, mission, historical wealth, resources, research activity and income, educational provision and student characteristics' (p. 233). Comparatively little work has been done, however, into the geographies of internal UK mobility of either citizen or non-citizen staff,[72] although Florida (2004) has produced some interesting work on the role of universities and wider social and cultural environments in attracting highly skilled knowledge workers to US cities.

Studies have in the past indicated, at an institutional level, the lack of both an explicitly international dimension to staff recruitment (Ackers & Gill 2005; Adams et al. 2005) and of an explicit staff recruitment focus to internationalisation policy (Egron-Polak & Hudson 2010). More recent work suggests that this may be changing: a study of 500 universities worldwide by Maringe *et al.* (2013) revealed that 85% of respondents from universities in the Anglophone countries and the EU reported that the recruitment of staff from overseas was part of their understanding of internationalisation. A report by the 1994 Group of smaller UK universities (Nivesjö, Winzer & Brassell 2011), moreover, found that amongst its members the recruitment of international staff was 'at the heart of international strategies' (p. 7).

Whilst there is an absence of more recent research specifically into the place of internationalisation in the human resource policies of UK universities, there certainly appears to be evidence of its increasing importance (Taylor 2004). From time to time explicit and public bids are made to position institutions as players in this international recruitment market (Curran 2012; Durham University 2012; Queen's University Belfast 2012), though this ought to be seen in the context of a wider intensification of recruitment activity in the lead up to the 2015 Research Evaluation Framework assessment (Fazackerley 2012; Gibney 2012). The increase in international recruitment has been facilitated by the use of special inducements to lure academics into the UK, as reported by 40% of 114 institutions responding to a recent study by the Universities and Colleges Employers Association

[72] One exception to this is a study of academic mobility within Brazil (Chesterfield, Enders & Nilton Bueno 1978), which found that career opportunities and salaries were not core attractions of peripheral cities for graduate students. Elsewhere, Kubler & Lennon (2007) found relocation payments to be common practice in UK institutions.

(2008). A report on the human resource practices of eleven institutions in ten countries, including the UK, found evidence of the international benchmarking of salaries to ensure competitiveness in recruitment (Dowds 2010).

The professional dimension

Opportunities and career building

Professional opportunities in the UK are a significant draw for the mobile highly skilled in general. For example, a UK government study (DTI/Home Office 2002) found that 'opportunities to develop expertise or career', 'opportunities in your sector', and 'availability of jobs in your specialism' were particularly important to, respectively, 92%, 84% and 71% of respondents.[73] Within this broader context, the higher education labour market is segmented in ways which create different types of opportunities according to academics' career stages, disciplines and reputations (Fenton, Modood & Smetherham 2011; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010). Early career opportunities are particularly numerous in the UK due to the high level of grant- and project-linked funding (Ackers & Gill 2008), which has contributed to the view of the UK as a 'post-doc paradise' compared to other countries (Balter 1999).

Of course, the corollary of this feature of the UK labour market is that a large number of early career positions are temporary. This high degree of turnover discourages UK citizens from remaining in careers that remain insecure in some disciplines (particularly the natural sciences (Science is Vital 2011)) for many years, or which demand a degree of mobility which inhibits the development of professional networks and identities (McAlpine 2012). At the same time these opportunities enable a phase of career building for non-citizens who subsequently leave the UK, and whose reference point for pay and conditions is therefore their home labour markets (Ackers & Gill 2008). As a result, in certain fields there is a potentially risky reliance on internationally mobile researchers that could be problematic as they circulate out of the UK and back home (Ackers & Gill 2005; HEFCE 2010).

Whilst the availability of positions was not brought up as a key attraction of England by the interviewees, it was implicit in the narratives of many. In particular, it intersected with the ways in which chance emerged as a key factor shaping the directions of mobility (Ackers & Gill 2008; Richardson & McKenna 2003). Chance was significant in two ways. For some respondents, a degree of randomness was evident in their choice of destination; for others, unexpected opportunities had

[73] A study of non-citizen and foreign-born S&T human resources in the USA found that, overall, family factors were by far the most significant reason for first entering the USA. However, taking only those who were awarded their PhDs overseas before entry, the US's scientific and engineering infrastructure was the most frequently given reason (Kannankutty & Burrelli 2007).

arisen at particular destinations. The interviews also spoke of their decisions in terms of different scales of destination; some spoke of countries, others of institutions.

Focusing on country level, Chinese electronic and electrical engineer Harry reported that his selection of England was 'just a chance, it could have been anywhere'. Others were just following work and had considered a number of other countries. In these cases, England was one of a limited number of options, often including the USA, but also France and Germany, and in one case even Japan. In the previous chapter German physicist Dominik related his experience of job searching at home in Germany; his frustrating lack of success led him to internationalise the search, which eventually led to England:

> [As well as Germany] I'd also been considered in the Netherlands, I had been interviewed once in the UK for a professorship level position, I had been interviewed in Leuven in Belgium for a professorship but never quite made it to the top. […] there was this offer of a lectureship here in [Daleside University] and I applied and got it and so I moved here.

Similarly, all interviewees mentioned the role that chance had played in their choice of institution. At the extreme end, one reported that, amongst his post-doctoral peers, 'nearly everybody applied nearly everywhere' (Daniel, German physicist[74]), though it was more common to aspire to employment at a relatively small number of institutions based on geography or reputation. Russian mathematician Vadim, for example, clearly had reputation in mind in his job search:

> [Daleside University] was not the only place I applied to, I was interviewed at St Andrews, I was interviewed at Birkbeck and at UCL, I came second at UCL I think, second or third at St Andrews, I was appointable but they didn't rank me, and finally I was appointed at [Daleside University]

This combination of chance and limiting a search to a small number of institutions was evident also in Thomas's (France) choice of PhD institution, whilst simultaneously illustrating the importance of individual academics:

> [So, why that particular US university]? Because [there] was a professor whose work was related to my interest, that's why I applied […] I did not apply to any other school actually […] and at most universities the deadlines were already passed.

Evidence of field-specific circuits of mobility emerged explicitly in one or two interviews. Ingrid's (Denmark, biosciences) experience demonstrates the ways in which opportunities in very specific areas can lead to moves, particularly when there are limited opportunities at home (as reported in chapter five). Her experience also speaks to the role of particular media in accessing an

[74] Whilst the experiences reported here are not generalisable, it is probably not coincidental that these particular comments were made by respondents who were both German and physicists.

internationally distributed labour pool. Ingrid reported that she had become aware of a job at her current institution when 'it was advertised worldwide if I remember right, maybe in Nature, and it was exactly in the field that I had worked in during my PhD so I obviously applied for it'.

Earlier, this thesis explored the issue of job security as factor dislodging academics from their home contexts; it also noted that the positions held by non-UK academic staff in English higher education institutions are more commonly short-term and insecure compared to their British colleagues. This is only part of the story, however. Alongside the fixed-term, insecure, early career labour market, it has been argued that there are labour markets for, on the one hand, a small number of highly-reputed academics moving internationally through a small elite of institutions and, on the other hand, for a larger number who fill positions in a 'replacement' labour market of specific disciplines and fields which cannot recruit locally (Fenton, Modood & Smetherham 2011; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010). These longer-term and more secure positions are the counterpoint to the insecurity of many positions in sending countries. Moreover, openness of recruitment in the UK has been found to increase further up the career ladder (Ducatel et al. 2001).

For many of the interviewees here, job security was one consideration amongst several, and individuals were prepared to accommodate mobility in order to gain it. As Ghanaian geographer Tano reported:

> I was looking for good places to, to get the permanent position, and with a strong group in my area and so there was some options in other European countries, and there were some options in the UK, and so I applied to different places in the UK.

In fact, the mobile career paths and temporary positions which characterise much academic work can become a source of insecurity at certain points in the life-course, for example as academics begin to start families or become otherwise embedded in place. At these times, security can become an overriding consideration, and the capital accrued through mobility can be 'cashed in' for immobility. Vadim's reasons for leaving Russia, and particularly the timing of his move, have already been discussed. Factoring in his family and, in particular his school age daughter, meant that choosing an institution 'was easy, I was applying just everywhere in search for a permanent position'. In this way, Vadim converted the capital earned through his regular short-term moves between Russia and England into a single, long-term move.

Reputation

The role of reputation has been alluded to in some of the comments above. Reputation functions on many scales. Marginson argues that for all but an elite of universities the reputation of the host system flattens institutional reputational hierarchies in a country (Marginson 2007a), which seems

to be consistent with the 'been to America' phenomena observed in academic careers in some countries (Enders & De Weert 2003). However, this has not been found to be true of mobile doctoral candidates. This is possibly because they are by this stage knowledgeable about national and field-specific reputational hierarchies. A Universities UK study of international postgraduate research students (Kemp et al. 2008), for example, found that the main reasons for undertaking postgraduate research in the UK (of a sample of 1,847) were the reputation of the host department (31%), followed by a specific course title (29%), the reputation of the host institution (26%), and only then the country (9%) and the city/location (4%). This finding concurs with Avveduto's (2001) study which found that mobile Italian doctoral candidates and lecturers were drawn by the prestige of the host institution.

In general, the UK's higher education system enjoys a high reputation overseas, in certain fields in particular. For example, Mahroum (1999b) has focused on the attraction of key institutions and departments in the UK in the field of biosciences and medicine, whilst Mills (2010) has observed the central role of the London School of Economics in hosting and producing a large proportion of the UK's anthropologists. The cumulative effect of these centres of prestige is both geographical and temporal: firstly, the clustering of top scientists in particular institutions has been found to be a powerful magnet to others in the same fields (Millard 2005), as have regional ecologies of higher education institutions and other actors in innovation systems more generally; secondly, the concentration of reputation and the benefits it brings increases over time in virtuous cycle (Mahroum 1999b; Merton 1968) and includes, amongst other things, increasing research opportunities (Trippl 2011).

This makes England and the UK more broadly an attractive destination for those looking to work in internationally reputed centres, in a relatively well-resourced environment, and with an academic elite. It can also be the case that, more instrumentally, work experience in the UK enhances an academic CV and therefore generates opportunities at home upon return; in this sense the UK is a staging post at which geographical and upward career mobility meet (Fenton, Modood & Smetherham 2011).[75] As outlined in the introduction, the reputational competition to attract mobile academics takes place on both an institutional and a national level, in not entirely straightforward ways. Marginson's (2007a) point about the flattening of national reputational hierarchies leads him to suggest that less well-regarded institutions can transcend national constraints when competing against their national peer institutions. However, there is an elite group of institutions, among them Harvard, Yale, Oxford and Cambridge, whose reputations transcend that of their national systems and who constitute a field in themselves.

[75] Also see discussions of 'escalator regions' in chapter nine.

Most interviewees in this study tended not to mention the prestige of the UK or the English system directly. One reason for this could be that a good number might be described as 'proactive job seekers' as defined by Simpson (2012) in her study of international job changes in the careers of 51 academics from 12 highly ranked universities around the world. Proactive job seekers are those that actively search for positions, whereas reactive job seekers tend to be sought or actively incentivised by a potential receiving institution. Simpson found that the proactive job seekers were far more pragmatic in their decision making and, specifically, much less concerned with institutional reputations.

To the extent that national contexts are significant, many of the interviewees for this study did refer to the same small group of countries in which they aspired to work. This suggests that the at the system level, higher education in England does, indeed, have prestige which is at least as magnetic as that of countries such as France and Germany; and when other factors such as distance are taken into account (see below), it is comparable to the USA. In keeping with the findings of the UK report mentioned above (Kemp et al. 2008), for those respondents that emphasised professional reasons for their mobility, the reputational capital of an institution, a department or an individual academic leader had by far the most significant magnetic effect, arguably more significant than that of the English sector or the UK in general.

Academic prestige at different scales is often interconnected. The factors that influenced German historian Fabian's mobility capture this effect at work at institutional, departmental and individual levels:

> Well, [Daleside University] is a Russell Group institution. It is one of the top 20 universities of course, in terms of research excellence it very much depends on which department you choose to join, and the school of history […] had a very good reputation. A very strong reputation, and very well established people there the head of department then [name] had an excellent reputation.

Other academics interviewed exhibited a nuanced understanding of hierarchies of prestige and their significance relative to other factors. Those who spoke of the reputational draw that an institution had held for them in their student phases, for example, reported that distance was an important co-consideration. Ernesto (Spain, tourism management) reported that, having won a scholarship to study abroad as a student, 'I could choose from X number of centres, [Home Counties University] was the one that had the most reputation and was nearest really'. Equally, for Dimitra (Greece, health sciences), '[Greater London University] seemed to have a very good reputation so for me it was important to go to a good university. I wouldn't travel that far for a university if it wasn't worth it'. Later on in a career the desire to continue working in a good department with a reputation in

particular specialisms was an important motivator of mobility. Physicist Daniel, for example, sought work at a particular institution because it 'was just one of the very good places in my field who would offer such positions'.

Senior academics with well-established profiles can also have a magnetic effect, particularly on earlier-career academics and research students and particularly when located in magnetic institutions (Mahroum 2000b). Irish business academic Ben had initially undertaken a master's degree in a London institution because 'the guy who was there, a guy called [name] he's from Bolton or somewhere like that, in Lancashire anyway and he was a super, super famous person and I was kind of interested in the work he did so that's why I went there'. These comments hint at a more general effect that seniority and reputation may have on the mobility practices of academics, which is that, as their reputations grow, the willingness for others to travel to access their reputational capital mitigates the need for the senior academic to be mobile (as discussed in chapter nine). The counterpoint this, of course, is that the loss of a key senior figure can have far reaching implications for a department or institution: French historian Thomas reported that his departure from his previous institution (also in England) was prompted by the loss of his main collaborating professor to the USA.

Student mobility

In thinking about the place of the English higher education sector in international circuits of academic mobility, it is important to account for student, and particularly research student, mobility. This is because the flow of international students through the tertiary education system and into doctoral and early career positions is an important source of skills in the fixed-term research labour market. Indeed, whilst as noted above the recruitment of academic staff from overseas appears not to be an explicit policy priority for UK universities, this is not the case with regards to international research students. The Universities UK survey of UK higher education institutions, for example, investigated strategies for the recruitment of international postgraduate research students (Kemp et al. 2008). 64% of respondents reported that the recruitment of international postgraduate researchers was a high priority and 90% reported that international postgraduate research student recruitment was important across all departments. Recruitment strategies specifically designed to target international postgraduate researchers reported by UK higher education institutions included offering scholarships and fee discounts in general and for specific countries and disciplines in some cases; developing relationships with research institutions, governments and scholarship agencies overseas; using staff visits and alumni networks; and using institutional websites and online recruitment, including targeting advertising in key countries.

Of the 23 interviewees for this study, ten (including two current doctoral candidates) came to England as students, two came to take up their first post-doc positions, and one (Ben) had done his MSc in England and returned much later in his career. In varying ways, for these respondents, unexpected opportunities and chance shaped mobility as much as deliberation and planning. Two interviewees, Ernesto and Dimitra had made their first journeys to England on scholarships. Chance continued to play a role in Dimitra's education, when her first choice professor was unable to supervise her and she had to look elsewhere. Swiss health and social scientist Giulia had not planned to come to England to study, but told of 'stumbling across' an opportunity whilst visiting friends (noted earlier).

Visibility, centrality and the English language

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, England's position as an academic centre is reinforced by the ways in which patterns of mobility create momentum in the movement of students and academics from certain countries of origin. In some ways these patterns appear to be the product of a more or less individualised type of mobility through a global labour market (Bauder 2012),[76] in others they are the outcome of specific policies to link places of origin and destination (Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008; Jöns 2007). Mobility channels, manifesting as a general trend amongst peers, were reported by some interviewees to have shaped mobility at very early and student phases. This was the case for Yiannis (Greek, music technology), whose comments also pointed to the role of recruitment agents in shaping market-driven international student flows:

> …it was very difficult to get into a Greek University because of their national exam system, so a lot of people as an alternative travelled to UK. So there were, the paths were there already established, there were small institutions that were taking care of your applications for a fee and they were doing all the communication with UK institutions so it, it was easy.

To the extent that the UK is a core destination for mobile academics, it is interesting to consider the ways in which geography, particularly in terms of proximity or regional patterns, influence decisions. Studies have found that geographical proximity can affect the attractiveness of a destination to mobile academics, with the likelihood of a move between two places diminishing with distance (Franzoni, Scellato & Stephan 2012; Hadler 2006; Jöns 2007). In other words, a Greek person such as Yiannis is more likely to choose the UK over the USA than a Chinese person, and both are more likely to move within their regions than beyond them. Indeed Yiannis reported that the UK was a

[76] Bauder (2012) does, however, recognise the role of supranational organisations in shaping flows. In asserting an 'individualised' character to this mobility it is important to recognise, therefore, that it is intended only to contrast with the type of mobility that occurs through schemes such as Marie Curie and so on; contexts of departure, destination and travel are, of course, shaped to some extent by strategic policy choices of any number of national, supranational, state and non-state actors.

destination partly because 'it was proximate'. There is also a sense in which destinations of mobility are delimited, not just by the operation of these circuits of mobility, but by subjective yet socially determined 'horizons' (i.e. the landscape of potential destinations),[77] in the same way that predisposition to mobility is related to class and privilege (Findlay et al. 2006; Holloway, O'Hara & Pimlott-Wilson 2012; King et al. 2011).

The English higher education sector in this sense can not only be seen as a place of opportunity within a wider European space, but also as a point of arrival within this space for those coming from further afield. The UK's global position and the familiarity of long-standing cultural and linguistic ties clearly mitigated some of the issues of distance for interviewees coming from places as far away as Australia. Commonly, however, these issues were framed in terms of personal rather than professional factors (see below). Moreover, professional geographies of mobility were spoken of less in terms of the distance between England and countries of origin, and more in terms of the distance between the England and professional activities in Europe. For example, one interviewee (Alex, USA, psychology) who did expressly refer to professional considerations spoke of the proximity of England to the academic field and professional networks in Europe:

> I came to Europe because I thought the community is, it's richer than it is in Asia maybe and sophistication is higher, and especially here I had colleagues that were working in the same area and I didn't have that in Seoul or in Japan as much.

For Alex, then, England offered engagement with colleagues, a familiar field of work, and more convenient access to the European conference circuit.

In locating England and the UK in global flows of mobility it is also important to consider the role of language. Adsera and Pytlikova (2012) have argued that the similarity between languages at origin and destination positively influences the likelihood of migration between two countries. However, the common teaching of English as a second language, and the economic return to the learning of English relative to other languages, increasing the prominence of English-speaking countries in migratory flows. Indeed, language was an incentive for 65% of respondents to a study of highly skilled migrants in the UK (DTI/Home Office 2002), and it was an important attraction of the UK for international students (Lasanowski 2009).

The issues of language in higher education and academic careers are multifaceted and well documented, whether it is in terms of the growth of English as a medium of instruction or the dominance of English in international academic publishing (Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra 2012; Kirkpatrick 2011; Lillis & Curry 2010; Uzuner 2008). Language influenced the decision-making process

[77] This is associated with, for example, prior experiences and cultural affinity, and is discussed below.

of the respondents of this study in two ways. As discussed in chapter six, language capital in the form of English-language proficiency is a pre-requisite for academics coming to the UK to work. Put the other way around, the UK academic labour market is accessible to anyone speaking English as a first or second language. Nevertheless, in this sense the UK does have to compete with other English-speaking environments.

For Yiannis, Ireland and England were both considered, 'it didn't make a difference, it was an English speaking country'. At least one other interviewee referred to the role of a spouse's language as a factor: Italian Luca was keen for his English-speaking, Australian wife to 'live in the country which had the same language'. Luca's comments point to the ways in which culturally and linguistically the England (often within the context of the UK) has a global profile, but also that it sits within both European and global (or at least post-colonial) geographies, making it in some ways a compromise destination for dual nationality couples such as Luca and his wife or Ben (Ireland) and his Canadian wife. Other interviewees implied the positive attractions of English-language destinations at the same time as noting the disincentives of other language contexts. Vadim explained his choice of England at least partly in terms of language:

> It could have been the States, not sure France or Germany because, well, I didn't know any French at all and my German was even worse than my English so that probably was a factor.

A second way in which language shapes mobility can be seen in the extent to which English speakers come to England to study or improve their English-language proficiency. In the interview sample there were several who had undertaken dedicated language courses as students, and others who felt that exposure to an English-only academic work environment would improve their language ability and benefit their careers. Ernesto, for example, reported that 'I'd really sorted a chance to improve my English and eventually go back to Spain'. Italian historian Sara had originally spent time in Ireland learning English, before looking to England for her doctoral studies. Her case illustrates, again, the significance of an English-speaking mobility circuit, and also the role of mobility at one life stage in increasing the propensity for later moves.

Networks

Research into migration and research careers has pointed to the role of networks in 'making' migrants and channelling migration flows (Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008; Faist 1997; Meyer 2001). As discussed in the previous chapter, in early career phases supervisors and their networks play a significant role (Ackers & Gill 2008; Millard 2005; Rhoades 2007). Implicitly, of course, there is a darker corollary to the role of networks in mobility and academic careers, which is that the lack of social capital can impede the progress of a career. This was commented on by Daniel, who reported

that access to key sites in his field of physics could depend very much on existing relationships: 'if you don't have [a] connection to start with, [or] some overlapping research already or that your supervisor knows somebody from there, then it's much harder to get in, in the first place'.

Most interviewees, when asked about their own institutional choices, reported the significance of networks in several ways. Having come to the UK from Venezuela to study, Carlota moved to her current institution when her supervisor was offered a job there and she went with him. The role of short-term mobility in generating relationships that proved useful later on was also mentioned (and is discussed in a slightly different context in chapter nine). Ingrid, for example, knew her manager before she came to work for him, having met him previously at conferences. Vadim was able to draw very strategically upon an existing network to enable his own mobility. He reported that his initial move was shaped by a relationship established with a British academic who had an ongoing collaboration with Vadim's institution in Russia:

> …it's just there was a particular person [in a UK university] who was rather proactive at developing research connection with Naukograd.[78] He knew, sort of, there is something going on in Naukograd, so he used to come there with, sort of lecturers, and then I got to know him there and then when I thought sort of, 'what to do and how to get to the West and get sort of some grant to, for visits?', he was the natural person to contact.

Personal and extended networks can also be a source of advice, recommendations or employment. Avveduto (2001), for example, emphasised the fact that in academic mobility the factors linking institutions of departure and arrival can be both professional and personal. Thus it was that Dimitra relied on advice from her tutors in Greece and a family friend who was an academic in an institution in London to make her decision, whilst Carlota was introduced to her supervisor by a friend who had studied under him previously. Finally, relationships established during an earlier career phase enabled Tano to make multiple moves between two institutions later on:

> …[my former university] called me [to say] that they were looking for an additional person to assist and to help manage the course because it was becoming a bit too much for [the professor] because he was a supervisor […] So I applied for that and then I got that, and then came back to Daleside University soon after completing.

The personal dimension

Geographies of family

There is clearly, and as to be expected, a strong professional dimension to the mobility patterns reported here; however, there are complex relationships between these and other more personal

[78] The name of the institution has been changed.

considerations. Professional, or at least academic, motivations tended to be prominent amongst the younger respondents as they went about establishing and consolidating their careers, whilst family and other factors emerged as significant more often amongst older respondents. One factor that featured in both professional and personal decisions was that of the geographical proximity of England to family and friends at home or in other countries. The DTI/Home Office report on the motivations for migration of the highly skilled to the UK found that proximity to family and friends was important to 24% of respondents, whilst a lack of proximity was a disincentive to 38% (DTI/Home Office 2002), findings which certainly resonate with comments made by the interviewees here, particularly relative to other countries they may have considered as destinations.

Moreover, proximity was a factor both for those making their first journeys overseas, and those returning to Europe after time abroad. In leaving their home countries, for example, both Dimitra and Baqer (Libya, health and social sciences) considered the USA, but ultimately decided it was too far away. As reported above, returning to Europe from overseas to be closer to their families, in Italy and Ireland respectively, shaped the geographies of possibility to a large degree for Luca and Ben and, furthermore, illustrate the regional dimension to location decisions. Ernesto, as will be discussed later, spoke of the ways that being in England made possible frequent travel home to Spain, a factor which was more or less implicit in the accounts of many of the Europeans and was often combined with professional activities.

Ben's case in particular also shows how the geographies and the timing of mobility can be strongly influenced by life stage and, more importantly, caring responsibilities for aging parents. He spoke of how his return to Europe from Canada was in a significant way motivated by the fact that: '…my family was getting old and my parents were still in Ireland, so I wasn't seeing much of them or any of my brother's kids'. Interestingly, his decision troubles the notion that 'caring from a distance' is an option for the migrant children of aging parents (Baldassar & Baldock 2000), and reiterates the importance of proximity on the maintenance of active family ties. At the same time, though, for Ben a return was associated the need for security attendant to his own life stage and life change:

> ...there was the issue that Canadian pensions are market based, and then 12 years I spent in [a UK university] pretty much down the tubes in terms of pensions, [...] I'd gotten married and if anything happened to me, American based pension really y'know [crashed] in the 90s, which is useless.

Location decisions can be both professional and personal at the same time. In such cases both institutional and wider geographies play a role, with the primacy given to one shaping the choice of the other. The importance of Baqer's wife in their family's decision to leave Libya was discussed in

the previous chapter; in addition, her choice of PhD supervisor and institution shaped their destination and, by extension, the regional limits of Baqer's job search:[79]

> my wife was a student at [University X in the north], And I said something in Leeds or Bradford or probably Manchester [...] So I was really, I was looking at somewhere, in the first year I told you that I applied for a job in Nottingham University and then there was Bradford, I applied for a job in Newcastle.

The impact of spouses on destination decisions was defining for a number of other respondents for other reasons. For example, that the shared language context of the UK and Australia was a key factor in selecting England for Italian-Australian dual nationality couple Luca and his wife has already been noted; the broader cultural dimensions are explored below.

Earlier experiences and familiarity

The significance of earlier experiences of mobility in increasing the likelihood of later mobility has been discussed in the previous chapter, and supports earlier studies (IDEA Consult 2010b; King et al. 2011; King & Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Papatsiba 2006). In defining destinations, both earlier experiences and familiarity acquired in other ways appear to be important. Familiarity can develop during mobility experiences in the tertiary education phase, and result in staying on. A recent study of postgraduate international students in the UK, for example, found that nearly one third had been enrolled in a UK institution at the time of their application for further study (Kemp et al. 2008), whilst the DTI/Home Office report cited above found that existing knowledge of the UK was a draw for 61% of the highly skilled respondents (DTI/Home Office 2002).

Elsewhere, the fact that destination decisions are not necessarily made abruptly but slowly over time has been noted by Hadler (2006), who argues that migration 'starts with imaging the new destination' (p. 114). Other work has pointed to the fact that decisions are geographically delimited by personal factors: 'the desire to live and work in a specific country or region is important' (Froese 2011, p. 13). It is not simply the case, therefore, that 'mobility breeds mobility' (IDEA Consult 2010b); equally, familiarity can breed attachment, whether there has been earlier mobility or not. Hence the significance of cultural and linguistic proximity discussed above and in other cases. For example, Tano's parents had in the past lived for a time in Daleside city long before his move there; and he also reported that he had a close relative living nearby. Ben from Ireland, as reported above, had come from Ireland to study for his master's degree in England before settling for many years in

[79] Regional location can be a dominant feature of decision making for non-UK academics already in England and undertaking subsequent, internal moves. These types of move can be considered as a form of embeddedness in the English higher education system, and will be discussed in chapter eight.

Canada and he therefore knew what to expect of British academic culture and culture in general before his most recent move.

The familiarity of England and the UK, imagined or real, can be partly attributed to the historical, linguistic and cultural legacy of empire, and contributes to the prominence of the country in circuits of academic mobility (Altbach 2007a; Kim 2009; Welch 2005); what Mahroum (2008) terms 'legacy opportunities'. Such familiarity can in some cases override a lack of geographical proximity. Luca, for instance, in negotiating his professional needs with those of his wife, noted that the common heritage of Australia and the UK made England the 'ideal place' to settle. However, it was not necessary for a person to have any direct personal historical or cultural links to England for them to feel an affinity. Baqer is a good example of how perceptions of cultural familiarity which shape mobility can emerge from contact with academics who themselves have first-hand experience, an individual's own experiences in a country other than that of the host, or even a seemingly random personal interest. Baqer explained his choice of the UK – and specifically England – as being the product of familiarity acquired in several ways:

> [My choice of the UK is] maybe related to my education as well, because I have been educated mostly by Dutch Professors or Libyan and Arab Professors who were educated in Britain [...] And then my PhD was in Ireland which is, whatever you say, for me it's just another English country [...] However, in the UK […], England was my choice, especially north of England, for many reasons because of some element of academic and of cultural society [...] yeah and there's other things which, well and don't laugh, in the USA they don't play football [...] When I came here I was happy to go and really watch some premier league matches, and then I realised that… well I was crazy it's damn expensive just to go and see some people kicking a ball [...] I prefer now to go and see quality football.

In many ways the attraction of England was shown to be relative rather than an absolute. This can be seen in particular in terms of the differences between the political situations in sending countries and England, which were reported by Carlota and discussed in the previous chapter. Such factors were also alluded to or could be inferred from discussion with others. Baqer, again, spoke of England's 'very open society really and a very good society […] Maybe not one of the big reasons why I came here, but…' Ultimately, then, whilst there are other countries which offer a degree of stability and freedom not found in some countries of origin, they are factors that clearly contribute to the attractiveness of England as a destination.

A few other factors which can affect migration decisions are worth mentioning. Szelényi (2006) reported on the likelihood of not just visa but other formal educational and administrative conditions can affect propensity to move between particular countries in the case of international graduate students in the USA. These considerations did not emerge in many of the interviews here as having an impact on mobility decisions. Only one interviewee, Luca, mentioned that it was

important that his qualifications were recognised in England, perhaps because it was not an issue for any of the others. More common were references to financial concerns. For those undertaking mobility as tertiary students, the relatively cheap university fees of England have been an attraction, particularly compared to the USA. Of her own decision to come to England, Dimitra reported that 'if [cost] was equivalent I may have chosen US perhaps or Canada'.

In more general terms, the effect of the cost of living was also relative, especially to sending countries. Hence Baqer spoke of how, although his salary was higher in England, it did not compensate for the higher cost of living. The possibility that the cost of living could be a disincentive emerged, in fact, with respect to differences between London and the rest of the UK in Metcalf *et al.*'s (2005) study of staff recruitment. Moreover, Grigolo *et al.* (2010) have argued that the broader context of social benefits, other sources of income, salary increments and career paths must be taken into account in assessing the relative attraction of the USA against Europe, and individual countries within Europe.

A competitive migration system?

A final point that needs to be addressed here is the extent to which the UK's immigration and visa system affects the decision making of incoming foreign-citizen academics. Of course, all of the interviews conducted for this thesis were with individuals already in the country, so it is a fair assumption that if any issues had existed they would in most cases have been dealt with.[80] Moreover, the interviews took place before the current government began to reform the immigration system to dissuade potential inward mobility. In addition, over half the interviewees were holders of European passports and did not need visas, others held a British passport in addition to their primary nationality, and yet others were married to British citizens. Nevertheless, as discussed in the introduction, immigration regimes are increasingly being designed to attract the highly skilled (including students and academics), facilitate their entry into national labour markets, and to complement state's competition strategies. In a globally referenced higher education sector it is necessary, therefore, to see the border policies of the UK not just as an incentive or disincentive on its own terms but relative to comparators such as Australia and the USA.

It has until recently been assumed that the nationality of an academic is not an issue in the UK's global recruitment (Kim 2009) and, indeed, the openness of the UK research base continues to be seen as a core strength (BIS 2011). Furthermore, the 'ease of entry for partner or family' has been found to be an important motivating factor for migration to the UK for 28% of skilled migrants,

[80] In fact, only one of the respondents reported difficulties with their visa or migration status (see below).

although the difficulty of obtaining a work permit was a deterrent for 26% (DTI/Home Office 2002);[81] and citizen rights are noted to be attractions, alongside the quality of the education and health systems, for students considering study in the UK (Kemp et al. 2008).

The extent to which the UK's visa regime is attractive is also relative to the conditions elsewhere; it is only one player in an increasingly global 'interjurisdictional competition' (Shachar 2006). In recent years the UK's English-speaking competitor countries have suffered a quantifiable drop in incoming academic mobility which was potentially beneficial to the UK. In the case of the US, the terrorist attacks of 2001 led to tighter and less welcoming border controls which, at the very least, inconvenienced incoming academics (Foote et al. 2008; Froelich 2004; Johnson 2009; Kemp et al. 2008); and the changes to student visas in Australia led to a dramatic downturn in international student enrolments and are now being revised (Universities UK 2013). Across Europe, and in spite of reforms designed to facilitate the entry of skilled migrants, many national systems present problems for the entry of mobile students and researchers (European Commission 2013).

More recent studies, however, have begun to identify the UK's visa system as an emerging disincentive. Mavroudi and Warren's research into the experiences of academics and doctoral candidates from outside the EU revealed, for example, that whilst the UK's immigration system is not perceived as a barrier, for some it did prove to be complex and difficult to navigate. Moreover, those that wished to stay on in the UK or extend their visas reported anxiety about their legal status in the changing policy context (Mavroudi & Warren 2012). Universities UK found that visa regimes were seen to have a potentially deleterious impact on the recruitment of international postgraduate research students. In addition, although 40% of international students stay on after study in the UK, Universities UK argued that this proportion could increase with a more accommodating visa system (Kemp et al. 2008). The degree to which changes to the system in the UK has or will affect the international mobility of staff and researchers remains largely a point of speculation, although key institutional and other higher education stakeholders have articulated the fear that the UK's higher education sector could be damaged (Morgan 2010). Indeed, there is some evidence of a negative impact on the number of incoming post-graduate research students from outside the EU (Fazackerley 2013; Taylor 2013; Universities UK 2013).

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, visas were not mentioned by any of the European interviewees. This could be because they take for granted free-movement within the European Union. It may also suggest a growing realisation of cross-border European labour market for academics. Of those entering the UK from outside the European Union, however, several mentioned visas. Only Baqer, from Libya,

[81] To put this in perspective, 60% of respondents regarded the weather as the most significant deterrent (BIS 2011).

reported that he had encountered problems entering the UK. Vadim, however, spoke of the problems he had experienced applying for a visa to travel outside the UK to a conference in the USA, indicating that for non-EU citizens, there was not total freedom of mobility even once embedded in the UK. For other interviewees, such as Harry from China, the granting of permanent residency was a significantly positive development in enabling them to build a secure life in England.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore the degree to which identifiable features of the English (and more widely the UK's) academic labour market were influential in the decision-making processes of internationally mobile academics. The interviewees spoke of many factors that shaped their location decisions directly or indirectly, or which channelled their mobility towards the UK and to England in particular. However, it is not straightforwardly possible to say that the defining features of England in general are magnetic. On the one hand, it is clear that for some interviewees, and for a variety of professional and personal reasons, England in particular was chosen. On the other hand, England is simply the site of many opportunities for academics and researchers at different career stages, in different fields and with different agendas; and it is also situated at the intersection of multiple other flows of people and resources which collectively and recursively encourage and normalise inward mobility.

Interviewees who spoke of a conscious positive choice for England over elsewhere indicated the significance of positions in a highly-reputed, high quality, elite segment of the English higher education sector. Particularly in discussions of reputation, some interviewees were quite specific in naming key institutions, departments and even people with whom they were choosing to work. At the same time, many of these positions were research only and insecure, pointing to the function of this segment of the labour market in establishing career capital at an early stage which often could be traded in later for security in less highly reputed institutions or back home. However, this element of inward mobility should not be overstated: the sheer number of positions in the English higher education sector more generally was a draw for many others, and for these interviewees decisions or opportunities exhibited a strongly relative quality (against countries of origin or elsewhere), with chance in some cases also playing a prominent role.

The degree to which England is visible in international contexts has much to do with the 'legacy opportunities' of the UK that Mahroum (2008) speaks of, which to some extent normalise the

direction of mobility flows.[82] The legacy includes sometimes deep historical and cultural links (and even formal ties) to the former colonies, and the almost hegemonic role of English (even though that is in modern times largely driven by the USA). The result is that England is assumed to be familiar to non-citizens in ways that, along with language, go some way to mitigating the barriers of distance in international flows, even if that familiarity is admittedly somewhat vague and even attributed to English-speaking countries indiscriminately as a generic cultural model.

Interviewees' accounts also pointed to the ways in which mobility to England is normalised through particular channels. One channel is the international education market, and in particular the flows of non-citizen students into postgraduate research roles and then into early career positions. This pipeline serves to familiarise non-citizens and acculturate them into academic practice before the first formal career position and does so, importantly, often into disciplines undersupplied by UK-citizens. The second channel is through the networks of supervisory and institutional relationships, particularly at an early career phase although, as the respondents reported, networks can enable mobility at any career stage and do not even need to be exclusively professional.

A further interesting finding here is that the geography of England is relative in ways which are sometimes professional and at other times personal. In a professional sense England might be seen as a 'staging post' or 'gateway' to disciplines and fields of study in nearby Europe, or even in the Americas which, though not close, are fairly easily accessible. Returning to the role of opportunities in decision making, there is a degree to which dual careers can be conducted in particular parts of England (not only London and the South East) due to the number and clustering of institutions relatively close to one another. A further professional dimension, which is discussed in a later chapter, is the degree to which England's internationalised system provides opportunities for further and novel geographies of international activity for incoming academics, as was the case for a number of respondents.

Beyond professional factors, England appeared to some extent to be almost a compromise location. This was so firstly to the extent that locating in England enabled proximity to family in parts of Europe where opportunities were scarcer; and secondly in that England was able to accommodate the linguistic or cultural needs of people in mobile partnerships, again pointing to both considerations of language and familiarity, and the negotiations of family or partnered migration.

Many of these points illustrate the relative nature of the attraction that England holds for mobile academics. The mobility decisions of the interviewees took into account the relative merits of

[82] Of immigration flows and trends more generally, Massey and Taylor (2004) have recognised the significance of historical, and colonial in particular, links and networks.

England in a number of ways: relative to the national academic and broader developmental contexts of sending countries and regions, and relative to competitor nations elsewhere in the English-speaking world. Decisions were made based upon the distance of England from home, although assumptions of cultural and linguistic familiarity overrode this in some cases. Location decisions were in some cases national, in others regional, and in yet others institutional; often the scale at which emphasis was placed depended upon career stage and field. Acknowledging the relative nature of so many considerations highlights the difficulty of identifying clear and unambiguous 'pull factors'. This is important at a time in which institutions are increasingly being explicit in their international staff recruitment strategies, and the UK at a national level is undergoing reforms to its immigration and visa system which could profoundly affect flows of students and academics from outside the EU.

Ultimately, destination decisions are based on a variety of factors, only some of which can be attributed to the magnetic properties of countries or institutions and, even then, these qualities are likely to be very specific to fields, types of work, and institutions. The strength of the English system and its institutions, then, is not in an absolute advantage over competitors, but rather in the global structures and geographies, and historical legacies, which place those institutions amongst a small number of highly desirable (or simply *natural*) destinations for both professional and personal reasons. Having accounted for these broadly shaping factors, it seems that there remains a certain degree of randomness in the directions and destinations of academics. Looking at the cases as a whole, it is not necessarily clear that arrival in England or at a particular institution was always the goal of mobility, but rather that various considerations *limited* potential destinations. Beyond this, opportunity and chance played an important role.

Chapter 7. Return and onward migration

This chapter investigates the future mobility intentions of the sample of 23 non-UK academics in two English higher education institutions. It returns to the themes explored in chapters five and six, which addressed the motivations behind departure from countries of origin and the choice of England as a destination. It is also a counterpoint to the discussions of chapter eight, which looks at the processes which anchor non-UK citizen academics in place and embed them in local professional, personal and social worlds. The chapter contributes to the overall perspective of the international mobility of academic staff as a potentially open-ended process,[83] in which an inclination to mobility or immobility is constantly in the balance (Ackers & Gill 2008; Ferro 2006). It links these embedded dimensions of mobility to, and adds to the understanding of, the geographies of cross-border academic flows to and from specific sites.

In studies of mobility intentions surprising numbers of academics have expressed an inclination to leave their current jobs for another overseas (Schuster 1994), although few act upon it (Locke & Bennion 2010). Significantly, those with previous experiences of mobility are more disposed to future mobility than those without (Hadler 2006); in other words, we find yet again that 'mobility breeds mobility' (IDEA Consult 2010b). By definition, most[84] non-citizen academics in the UK have undertaken at least one international move, and could be assumed to be more disposed to mobility as a group than their UK peers. However, an important caveat is that the discussions of future mobility that provide the evidence for discussion in this chapter were almost entirely speculative in all but one case: Ghanaian geographer Tano had, as noted earlier, already accepted a position in an institution in Ireland at the time of his interview.

Of the remaining interviewees, few appeared to have thought in any depth, if at all, about further international mobility. Most appeared to lack a concrete life or career plan, let alone an overall strategy which specifically included mobility. This points to the embeddedness of the interviewees in their current (professional, social and personal) locations and in England and the UK more widely; it is also indicative of the role of timing of mobility opportunities in career and life courses. Nevertheless, encouraging the interviewees to speculate did reveal the real and imagined geographies of future mobility.

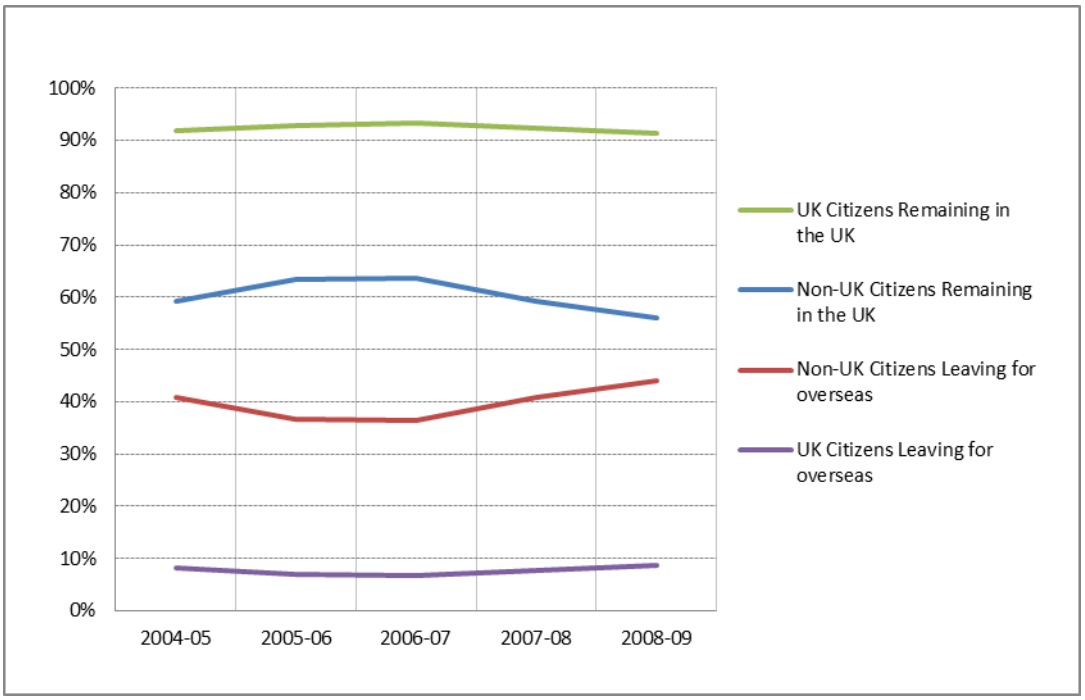
In contrast to the in-migration of non-UK academics, explored in some depth in chapter four, data on exits is patchy and therefore prevents any systematic conclusions (Metcalf et al. 2005).

[83] See also conceptions of migration as 'partial' (Golynker 2006) or 'incomplete' (Okolski 2001).
[84] Rather than 'all': the qualification here accounts for the possibility that a person could be born and raised in the UK yet hold the citizenship of their foreign-born parents.

Nevertheless it does reveal that UK-citizen academics are less internationally mobile than their international colleagues (Locke & Bennion 2010). In the period 1995 to 2002, for example, non-UK citizens constituted just 17% of the UK's academic workforce, yet they accounted for 73% of immigration and 63% of emigration (Bekhradnia & Sastry 2005). According to analysis of institutional exit data for the 2001-02 academic year, 46% of non-UK nationals went overseas, compared to only 13% of UK nationals (Metcalf et al. 2005, analysis of HESA data).

A similar analysis of HESA data over the period 2004-05 to 2008-09[85] reveals this to be a pattern, with a fairly steady rate of around 92% of UK citizens remaining in the UK compared with only 8% departing for overseas each year. The figures for non-UK citizen academic staff are 60% remaining in the UK to 40% leaving on average per year over the same period, although there is a slight trend towards an increasing proportion leaving the UK (see Figure 36).[86] In depth analysis of smaller population samples break down these patterns of emigration: for example, academics from EU and Anglo-Saxon academic systems are more likely to emigrate than other non-UK staff (Stevens 2005).

Figure 36. Proportion of UK Citizen Academic Staff in English HEIs Leaving for Overseas or Remaining in the UK Compared to Non-UK Citizen Academic Staff 2004-05 to 2008-09



One feature of the data on the international migration of academics is that it tends to take the form of snapshots of staff nationality in particular national labour markets at a given time (such as that collected by HESA in the UK); or bibliometric mapping of cross-border publishing collaborations

[85] Conducted by the author. As noted previously, the institutional coverage is drawn from England, though the data on exits refers to the scale of the UK as a whole.

[86] An important caveat to this analysis, as noted elsewhere, is that few institutions keep thorough records of onward destinations of exiting staff. The picture is therefore only indicative.

which takes into account author nationality using institutional affiliations at different times as a proxy (BIS 2011; Franzoni, Scellato & Stephan 2012). It is not at all clear, therefore, how existing data might inform the tracing of academic careers through multiple cross-border migrations, and in particular from job to job.

Of the 23 academics interviewed in the course of this project, about half had only one experience of migration, i.e. the one which brought them to the UK. Eleven reported two or more (as many as six in one case) episodes of international mobility, although these multiple moves appear in many cases to be associated with postgraduate study or temporary early career positions. One interviewee, Libyan health scientist Baqer, had undertaken multiple outbound and return journeys in the course of his career, whilst two others, Irish business academic Ben and American psychologist Alex, had practised step-migration from country to country. In all interviews, however, experiences of single, multiple, return or onward mobilities evinced complex and unique characteristics not discernible in crude statistical data.

Geographies of future mobility

Little is known of the specific national destinations of departing non-UK academics, although Gurney and Adams' (2005) analysis of author affiliations indicates that about the same numbers return home as go on elsewhere. In any case, even if better data were available it would be difficult to capture the role of a single return or onward migration in an individual's career or life course. As King (2000) has pointed out, return migration can be a phase in migratory life courses which incorporates further migration; perhaps in the form of a repeat journey to the original destination or onward to a new one.

In spite of the difficulties posed by lack of data, it is possible to speculate on a few factors that may shape the directional flows of emigrating non-citizen academics: the first is the return policies in various countries, which have been developed to engage and lure skilled migrants and academics home. How far these strategies influence the geographies of mobility of the actually and potentially mobile is not clear. Whilst personal factors, such as the presence of family back home, appear to be a strong influence on return behaviour (Baruch, Budhwar & Khatri 2007; Hazen & Alberts 2006), it is clear nevertheless that lack of professional opportunities can be a significant disincentive (Balter 1999; Fontes 2007; Morano-Foadi 2005). Other factors, for the most part, are not specific to return but mobility in general. These include, as discussed in earlier chapters, the global and regional hierarchies of academic and discipline-specific power and prestige; and the emergence of education and innovation hubs in places such as Singapore designed to capture globally mobile academics.

Ultimately, the outward mobility of non-citizen academics from the English higher education sector is not necessarily a straightforward question of return, particularly when careers and other professional considerations are foregrounded in analysis. As far as prospective return journeys are concerned, home and family attachments clearly were a consideration for some interviewees. Dimitra (Greece, health and social sciences) and Sara (Italy, history PhD candidate) in particular expressed affection for home although, as discussed below, access to opportunities in home labour markets was perceived as an obstacle to return: 'I would love to go back at some point as long as I am able to get a similar job' (Dimitra).

Proximity to home and extended family has been shown in chapter six to shape journeys without necessarily meaning a return to a place of origin. For example, Italian Luca (health and social sciences) spoke of his decision to return from Australia, though rather than head home, he and his Australian wife opted for England as a compromise between proximity to his extended family in Italy and cultural and linguistic familiarity for her. Similarly, Ben (Ireland, business and management) returned from Canada not home to Ireland but to England, a decision informed by broad issues of family. Ben, in fact, had no plans for further mobility but was able to speculate in a way that foregrounded both a disciplinary dimension to mobility and the influence of earlier experience. As an economist, he referenced a particularly global scale to potential mobility:

> [There is] essentially just a global market for economists especially if you're any good. There would be no difficulty whatsoever if I took it into my head I want to have a job in Australia or, I don't like the States that much but I'm a Canadian citizen, go back to Canada if I want. This would just not really be an issue if that's what I wanted to do.

Sara, although orientated to home (see below), also spoke of future mobility on a global scale in a way that hinted at a sense of her 'total human capital' as an academic professional but also someone culturally and linguistically skilled (Williams & Baláz 2005): 'I feel comfortable and confident that I could work at least in three continents [...] whether Europe, US or Central and Latin America'. Whilst here she alludes to the personal mobility competencies built up through earlier experience, she explicitly deployed them in an instrumentally professional way: 'I wouldn't have any problem in going [anywhere] as a way to build up my CV'.

Regional and specifically national geographies were also referenced by the interviewees. Libyan Baqer (health and social sciences), for example, referred to a spell of work outside his home country in another Arab state. French historian Thomas hoped in the long term to stay in Europe and identified Germany as a particular possibility, although professional factors were not prominent for him: 'I kind of like Germany, not necessarily the system but some cities are very nice, so why not?' The speculative geographies of another historian, German Fabian, were slightly more specific:

beyond a possible return to Germany, he cited the USA and Canada as attractive destinations for both himself and his wife – pointing to a mix of both professional and cultural-linguistic considerations. Maltese archeology PhD candidate Lucy has been mentioned in earlier chapters as a person who represents a younger, early career, travel-oriented type of person. The geographies of her future mobility seem to be motivated by both a sense of adventure and practical considerations, and there is a definite nonchalance in her comments: 'interesting places would be Australia, which may seem to be a possibility. Istanbul would be nice for a year or so, it depends on what work is available'.

Attitudes to onward mobility: 'I wouldn't be scared to do it again'

The role of openness to mobility was discussed in an earlier chapter as possibly contributing to an explanation of why these and not other academics had become mobile; the increased inclination of mobile individuals to undertake further mobility has also been mentioned on several occasions. In contrast, a later chapter on the embedding of non-citizen, incoming academics in their institutions and the UK finds strong evidence of the emergence of personal and professional ties to place which counter the notion of perpetual and frictionless mobility. What emerges from the qualitative work in this thesis is not a sense that international academics thought of future mobility in any straightforward way; rather, they articulated a range of personal orientations.

A few respondents simply had no interest in further migrations, as in the case of American bioscientist Madeline, whose journey to the UK was motivated almost solely by her marriage. Other attitudes ranged from an apparently reluctant acceptance of the necessity of future mobility, to a positive welcoming of it. The specific nature of an individual's attitude to future mobility appears closely wrapped up in wider personal and professional contexts. It may not be particularly surprising, for example, that Lucy, relatively young and at an early career stage, married to a well-travelled partner, and without children or other caring responsibilities, expressed a keenness to 'try and fit in as much travel as possible'. More interesting perhaps was Fabian's comment that, at mid-career stage, neither he nor his wife, also an academic, would 'rule out a move' depending on how their careers progressed in the medium-term and even though their children would need to be taken into account.

One interviewee who had reflected in some depth on her own past and future mobility was Dimitra. Her comments alluded to the challenges of mobility and its personal and transformative nature:

> …if I had to move I have done it before several times, it's very easy for me to do it again, you know I've changed jobs I've changed houses, I changed universities, I can go anywhere, anywhere really [...] I wouldn't be scared to do it again.

At the same time, she indicated her attachment to her current location through her work, her relationship, and her broader social and cultural life. Nevertheless, she noted that, when it came to her career, 'I actually think "what do I want to do next, where do I want to be next and how am I going to achieve that?"' For Dimitra this interweaving of the personal and the professional, place and mobility, and choice and compulsion illustrates the complex ways in which these elements inform an individual's sense of identity and possibilities.

Timing and serendipity

Underlying many of the interviewees' comments on future mobility – the sense that they were *open to* it – was the important role of timing and serendipity[87] in determining the circumstances in which a move might be undertaken. As noted above, in most cases the interviewees' earlier mobility patterns indicated the significance of study and early career moves that occurred when they were younger, free from personal obligations, and able to exploit opportunities associated with mobility. The next chapter reveals the significance of life and career course in embedding individuals in place as time goes on, with professional considerations such as job security and social/geographical stability being weighed against opportunity and mobility as, for example, children grow and parents age (see below).

In terms of future possibilities, Fabian and his wife, as noted, were taking a 'wait and see' approach: mobility would depend on how their careers progressed over the next few years. After ten years in her current institution, Swiss sociologist Giuila was beginning to think about a further move, and Luca's *immobility* was conditional on his ongoing success. He reported:

> For the time being I find this environment extremely good in terms of motivation, [...] a place where I can thrive, but then in the longer term I don't know in fact.

Informing Dimitra's openness to future mobility was the unpredictability of opportunities:

> I guess it depends on the situation and on what opportunities will sort of come up [...] I've no idea of where I'm sort of wanted particularly or where I want to be.

Professional considerations

An important feature framing the discussion of potential future mobility is the fact that so many of the interviewees have permanent contracts. As outlined in chapter three, sampling based on departmental profiles and word of mouth recommendations resulted in a cohort of longer-term employees rather than those on short-term sabbaticals or other types of sojourn. Whilst many spoke

[87] See chapter five for a discussion on this theme.

of their earlier mobility experiences in terms of the search for job security, particularly in the transition from early career into more mature career stages, few spoke of this in the context of future mobility. On the contrary, as might be expected, existing job security emerged as rather a disincentive to further mobility: of the 16 interviewees who indicated their contract status, twelve were permanent or open-ended and four were temporary.

Illustrative of the opportunities and pressures for mobility at an early career stage was Lucy, the doctoral candidate. She definitely felt her prospects were limited by her location, both in terms of work in academia and elsewhere locally: 'Daleside City is difficult I mean unless I manage to get entrenched in the National Museum [here] the possibilities aren't endless in my side of things'. This would clearly be a source of insecurity to her were it not for the wider context of her life stage and desire to travel for its own sake, as discussed previously. For others, although there was no current job insecurity, there was certainly a sense of anxiety about the type of work they were able to do and how it might impact on their future opportunities. As will be discussed in chapter eight, this is a phenomena associated primarily with the more teaching-intensive Peakside University, where research was often difficult and participation in disciplinary communities outside their institution, even locally, was hampered by work commitments. Importantly, it highlights the ways in which mobility is influenced by the complex interactions between the quality of a position, reputation and job security.

Related to these anxieties is the expectation of mobility, already noted elsewhere as exerting pressure to move, particularly in early career. Moreover, it is relevant to point out here the observation that a kind of 'employability security' which incorporates mobility has come to replace the notion of tenure-based 'job security' in academic careers (Ackers & Gill 2008). Here again, though, rather than being an explicit consideration for most interviewees, it emerged implicitly through their attitudes to future mobility, or in anxiety about where their current work could lead them.

As reported in chapter five, then, Dimitra expressed her belief that 'if you want to be promoted you should be moving [...;] it's wrong to be in a university for a long time'. This link between mobility and the building of career capital also emerged in the comments of Italian historian Sara, who considered it 'a way to build up my CV'. Interestingly, Dimitra reversed the commonly held assumption that mobility precedes opportunity in highlighting the need to build her reputation through quality publications and grant awards *before* she embarked on a move:

> My work mainly is more likely to be about three stars [in the Research Evaluation Framework quality assessment] hopefully, so if I manage to get some money in that'll be good as well because then I can get a better deal or I can get a better job.

Emerging from these comments is the fact that the security of a permanent position can, in some cases, come at the expense of the research and publishing activities which make other types of career mobility possible.

Personal considerations in future mobility decisions

As argued throughout this thesis, it is important to ground the experiences and practices of mobility in a whole-life context, and to acknowledge the collective nature of migration decision making that attributes agency to extended family, spouses and even children (Ackers & Stalford 2004; Bushin 2009; Cooke 2008). To a large degree, intentions to undertake future mobility reflect the same themes which arise in earlier migratory decisions, although as time passes new and emerging considerations need to be taken into account: personal and social relationships are established, children are born and grow up, and parents back home age, become infirm and die. Personal factors such as family ties appear to take precedence over personal factors in return decisions (Franzoni, Scellato & Stephan 2012) and, whilst in general children have an inhibiting effect on mobility (Ackers et al. 2009), it is not to the same degree as partners (Cox 2008).

In all discussions of future mobility, partners, children and other family members were implicitly or explicitly a consideration. Luca, for example, stated firmly that: 'once you have a family everything has to be agreed with the partner you know, there's no doubt about that'. In other cases this significance emerged in discussion. Fabian and his wife, a dual-career couple, needed to think about the professional opportunities available to them both, limiting destinations to places with reasonably large higher education sectors. Whilst Sara's family and friends were a draw to home in Italy, she also had a partner there. Her approach to her relationship was pragmatic and showed the compromises necessary in mobile lives, and the importance of timing: 'it's a personal point of view, we should try to get closer; that's not for now, I mean'.

Tano, who had already accepted his next post overseas at the time of the interview, revealed the ways his decision was informed by his partner, her career and her lifestyle preferences. His experience also pointed to the way that distance can be managed within a relationship, creating transnational lives and partial migrations:

> [Interviewer: Is your wife going to move too…?] Not immediately because she works in the council here, she's got a permanent position in the council and so what I, what we envisaged doing [is] this, myself come and go at the weekends and things like that until we see how life in [the new place] is and whether she wants to live [there].

Tano's wife, then, is not just a 'trailing spouse' but central to the decision to move and the impact it will have on the family. Her role in the process both enables the move and places conditions upon its

permanency. Her own mobility is contingent on conditions being satisfied which reflect her own life and career priorities. This is not to ignore the obvious negative impacts the move could have on her own career even as it benefits her husband's, but rather to trouble the conventional and long-standing assumptions that partners are largely victims of migratory practices and decisions (Mincer 1978). The idea of a trailing wife risks obscuring the agency of spouses in migration decisions, whilst at the same time removing both partners from the economic, social and cultural contexts that inform decisions and are constitutive of the family.

Children can also have a significant impact on return or onward migrations. Insofar as this impact tends to be spoken of in terms of an impediment to mobility (Ackers et al. 2009), the degree to which it is so depends on factors such as the age of the child (Ryan & Sales 2011). This emerged clearly in comments from interviewees who themselves had children. Children led some, such as Carlota (Venezuela, psychology) and Fabian, to pretty much rule out a move at least until the children were grown, though in other cases the decision was less straightforward. Issues that emerged around mobility for those with children included, not surprisingly education, language and culture. For Luca it was a practical question of limiting disruption, meaning that '[mobility is] probably easier, paradoxically, for a longer period because you can make up for one year of school'. As noted in earlier chapters, Russian mathematician Vadim's outward migration from Russia, and its timing, was at least partly motivated by his desire for his child to enter the British education system whilst she was able to acculturate. Somewhat in contrast, Harry (China, electrical and electronic engineering) spoke about the issues of raising his daughter away from his home country and culture, and how that disposed him to a return move. For Harry it was important to take into account the fact that his daughter would struggle to adapt to life back in China if she is educated in the UK for a significant period of time (see chapter eight for Harry's comments on this).

Disincentives

The next chapter will explore some of the ways in which the non-UK citizen academics interviewed here re-embedded or became anchored in their new contexts through a combination of professional and personal factors. The chapter will discuss the ways in which many indicated a general sense of contentment with their situations – personally, professionally and geographically – which amounted to a lack of incentive for mobility. This contentment is an interesting counterpoint to, and does not exclude, the equally broadly held openness to future mobility if and when the time and conditions are right.

Drawing a distinction between disincentives for mobility *from* current contexts and the disincentives of mobility *to* other contexts, the final section of this chapter explores the significance of conditions in potential future destinations. Interestingly, when discussing their inclination for mobility the interviewees referred to a much more diverse set of destinations than in discussion of possible obstacles. In the latter case there was a tendency to refer to home country contexts, either implicitly or explicitly indicating return rather than onward mobility.

From a professional perspective, access to jobs in home labour markets emerged as a key concern for the interviewees, something that resonates with previous research (Balter 1999; Cruz-Castro & Sanz-Menéndez 2010). This concern is also unsurprising given that many cited 'lock out' as contributing to their original migration. Issues of access to jobs were explicitly noted by Greek Dimitra and Italian Sara. In both cases, though, there is more to be said. Dimitra, for example, noted that the labour market in Greece was opening up and, furthermore, that her specialisation would enhance her employability. Sara, for her part, highlighted the ways that discourses of internationalisation and mobility homogenise national contexts: she thought of return not in terms of Italy but of her specific region – an area with its own strong sense of identity and only two universities. More importantly, and following from this, the distinction between within-country and international mobility was irrelevant to her mobility decisions; any potential move back to Italy would most likely be so far from her home town that it would make little or no difference to be in the UK or elsewhere in Europe within easy reach on a budget flight.

Not only job opportunities but also the quality of available work in countries of origin or elsewhere can be a disincentive to further mobility. Harry had gained his PhD in England and begun his academic career here. He spoke of the emergent clusters of universities in his home country of China, and official aspirations to develop both world class universities and research.[88] However, he felt that his career stage was not yet sufficiently developed for him to take advantage of the incentives on offer to return, particularly in the broader context of intense competition for academic positions. Moreover, his research was embedded in local and national (UK) networks that would not be transferable to China. Baqer (Libyan) spoke broadly of opportunities in the Middle East, where he

[88] The importance of incorporating national contexts into analysis is emphasised in a recent article on China's return strategies by Cao Cong (2013). Cao assesses the success of China's Thousand Talents return initiatives and finds a mixed story. Large numbers of Chinese holding PhDs from abroad have returned - more than anticipated - but not necessarily the 'right ones'. There have been some successes in attracting leading elites in some fields, but also many early career researchers with little work experience abroad. There is even evidence that '[s]ome returnees have reportedly taken advantage of this blind worship of foreign experience, embellishing their overseas credentials to sneak into the programme'. Fraud, corruption, intolerance of failure, lack of social capital, and political fears (especially in the social sciences) are powerful disincentives to Chinese academics who want to return. Moreover, Chinese institutions remain a major source of undergraduates into US graduate programmes, and large numbers (over 92%) of Chinese doctoral graduates intend to stay on in the US after graduation.

had worked previously and, whilst he acknowledged the financial rewards he was put off by the low quality of the research. There is continuity here with Baqer's original reasons for leaving Libya, which included the difficulty of undertaking research, and his own low publication record.

In addition to these professional considerations, a number of other disincentives were articulated. These disincentives were both practical and personal, and took many forms. Baqer, for example, noted the political and human rights concerns in his home country of Libya (pre-revolution): 'if you speak against the government, if you speak against the dictator there or any of his people then you are in trouble'. Baqer brought up the issue of the reception of foreigners elsewhere in the Middle East: 'even though they [the foreigners] are Arabs there is some [attitude of] "now you are here in my country because you want the money" or something like this. I don't like that feeling'. This point about being viewed with suspicion is an interesting contrast to his very positive feelings about England, which are discussed in chapter eight.

Future mobility also implies a further period of adjustment and disruption. This could be a period of work-related disruption whilst settling back in to a 'home' department (Melin 2005), or the 'reverse culture shock' (King 2000) of return and reintegration in general. This suggests that a return may not be by definition any easier than an onward move, and in fact, a returnee's expectations may compound issues of readjustment. Of the academics interviewed for this project, Dimitra seemed most aware of potential difficulties of return:

> I would love to go back [to Greece] at some point as long as I am able to get a similar job or if I win the lottery for example […] I would love to go back I think but at the moment I've stayed quite long here and I think it's going to be a huge massive change certainly to go back […] I would have to learn to function in Greece again because, I mean I don't change, Greece has changed it's not as I can remember it 10 years ago when I first left.

Conclusions

This chapter has explored the ways in which actual or speculative onward mobility is understood, the factors that influence the likelihood and timing of moves, and the geographies of those moves. Onward mobility from England is understood as a single phase in a process of migration that is potentially ongoing across multiple national contexts. This phase may include a return journey or an onward journey elsewhere; if it is a return journey it may lead later to a further migration back to an earlier host country or, again, elsewhere. Where conditions in a home country or area were instrumental in inducing the initial outward mobility, those same conditions are likely to constitute a disincentive to return if they are unchanged.

Interestingly only one of the respondents, Tano, had a firm plan for future mobility. For the rest it was a matter of speculation only. Some of the respondents ruled out any further moves, largely for personal or family reasons and pointing to a deep sense of embeddedness and being 'at home' in England. For the others, a range of positions emerged, from actively seeking a further move to simply being open to it and aware of opportunities. There appears to be a crucial role for both timing and serendipity in migration decisions which supports the idea that mobility is constantly in the balance yet more or less prominent at any given time and according to life or career stage – i.e. there is a sense of incompleteness to the whole process.

The geographies of future mobility are difficult to map in any meaningful way, again due to the speculative nature of the responses. Some referred spontaneously to their home countries, suggesting the existence of a 'myth' (King 2000) or 'illusion' (Faist 1997) of return even amongst those who had been in England a long time. Others spoke of possible destinations in ways that suggested that both professional and personal/cultural considerations were in play. In addition, in some comments it was difficult to decode whether the interview was referring to internal or international mobility. Sara's case, however, shows the importance of interrogating the geographies of home in its national and international contexts in order to understand this.

Consistent with other stages in the mobility process, the interviewees illustrated the significance of the negotiations of mobility. Partners were key to mobility decisions, particularly where both were pursuing their own careers, but also in considerations of lifestyle, social life and proximity to family at destination. Initial mobility episodes often occur at a point at which an individual was younger and free of the responsibilities of family or work; over time, through engagement with local professional, social and cultural contexts, and perhaps partnering and the arrival of children, the possibility for mobility may recede.

A final issue that can be identified in the onward decision-making process is that of the agency of an individual to choose mobility, its timing and direction, or alternatively to remain immobile. Here it appears that there is a role for personal and institutional reputation, perhaps enhancing an individual's existing stock of capital – or compounding its deficit. It appears then that, to some extent, those interviewees in the less prestigious post-92 institution were locked into that segment of the sector through teaching duties and lack of opportunities to build research profiles. In contrast, those from the Russell Group institution seemed to have much broader – or at least more prestigious – mobility horizons.

Chapter 8. Re-embedding: sticky places in geographies of mobility[89]

The existence of a strong evidence base that 'mobility breeds mobility' (IDEA Consult 2010b) suggests that there could be, amongst the non-citizen academics interviewed for this study, an inclination for future mobility. At the same time, discourses commonly emphasise the slipperiness of academic spaces and careers, although there is little concrete data on what this looks like in practice.[90] As a counterpoint, this chapter focuses on the 'stickiness' of places and people; it explores the ways in which non-UK citizen academics become anchored and/or 're-embedded' in particular geographies of professional, social and personal contexts.[91] In short, this chapter explores the reasons non-UK citizen academics stay on in England as opposed to returning home or moving on to a third country. It recognises mobility and migration are not necessarily or easily distinguishable from one another; and that 'staying' or 'leaving' are not one-time decisions, but perhaps dispositions which change constantly along with personal and professional circumstances. It also recognises that mobility decisions are based on both personal and professional factors, and that at different life and career points the weight given to any particular factor will vary and may or may not be decisive in catalysing a move.

The chapter begins, then, with a discussion of the professional factors which affect the degree of embeddedness of non-UK citizens in their new locales and institutions. It then discusses the personal factors. It finds parallels in professional and personal lives which include the significance of the life or career stage at which mobility occurred; the length of time spent in a particular place; the types and strength of relationships formed in a new place; and the degree to which the experience of 'being' in a new place is transformative in terms of personal and professional identity and practice.

Firstly it is important to distinguish, briefly, between some of the key terms used here to denote the relationship between an individual and social or territorial space. The focus of this chapter is *embedding* or *re-embedding*. By embedding I mean the broad process of transformative engagement of an individual in her lived contexts in psychological-affective, social and professional ways over time. Embeddedness has been explored in terms of the way a person's place in networks shapes her social practice (Granovetter 1985), and its utility as 'cross-cutting concept' in the study of migration and transnationalism (Vertovec 2003). For Giddens (1990), embedding is not necessarily a

[89] There is a necessary overlap in this chapter with other chapters on departures and return in the discussions on factors, such as time and embedding, which can contribute to im/mobility decisions. Immobility is as complex as mobility, and the question of embedding is not simply one of 'not going'.

[90] Whilst there is evidence of multiple intra-company international career moves (Beaverstock 1994), this has only been hinted at in research into academic careers (BIS 2011).

[91] The contexts in which an individual is embedded are not *necessarily* placed-bound or immobile; as will be discussed in the next chapter they can, equally, be relational networks that are dispersed across space in other mobile individuals who have their own trajectories, or centred on a single institution elsewhere.

place-bound process. In particular, *dis*- or *re*-embedding denotes 'the "lifting out" of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space' (p. 21) and the 'stretching' of social relations over space (p. 28); he does recognise, however, that re-embedding can be a personal life course project conducted in a particular local 'milieu' (Giddens 1991).

A second key term is *anchoring*, which refers to a much less transformative or engaged mode of attachment; rather it points to the ways in which a person is tied to a place by a single or limited number of significant relationships, or perhaps a contract of work. In his typology of mobility, for example, Cradden (2007) uses the term anchoring to refer to the relationship between a mobile scholar and her institution, which ranges from short term visit to permanent contract. Elsewhere, Ackers (2008) shows how anchoring does not necessarily imply co-presence but can also refer to the retained contractual links of a mobile academic to a 'home' institution in another country. In a broader sense, Portes (1997) has written of the anchoring function that children and the acquisition of citizenship can have in transnational lives.

A third term is *emplacement*, a concept drawn from work on transnational urbanism which speaks in particular of the embodied locatedness of identities and practices (Conradson & Latham 2005b; Smith 2005) in particular places (which can be singular or plural). As a counterpoint to the methodological emphasis on mobility and fluidity of space and practice, work on emplacement draws attention to the:

> …significant amounts of energy, resources and organisation that go into sustaining transnational lives and communities and remains attentive to the continuing significance of place and locality (Conradson & Latham 2005b, p. 228).

In thinking about how internationally mobile non-citizen academics practice their work and careers, the role of (dis- and re-)embedding is significant. More or less implicit in the discourses on internationally mobile non-citizen academics is the value they bring in terms of non-local knowledge, cultures and practices, as well as access to border-spanning academic networks. If anchoring and emplacement lead, over time, to a re-embedding of mobile academics in their English host institutions, the degree to which they re-embed may be in tension with these qualities. Whilst the degree to which the geographies of an individual's work becomes localised through embedding will be explored in the next chapter; in what follows below the focus will be on the factors and processes that contribute to embedding and the degree to which it is place-bound.

Professional re-embedding and career stickiness

Whilst not all the interviewees who contributed to this study moved across borders exclusively or even primarily for professional reasons, work and careers both influenced im/mobility and were in turn influenced by it. Importantly, work often performed an important anchoring function, leading to embedding of both professional and social lives. What emerged from the interviews was the significance of time and timing, of professional projects, and the shaping of professional cultures by specific academic spaces.

Entering the English higher education sector and establishing an academic career

In their professional narratives the interviewees spoke of the direct or indirect role that spending time in a particular place could have on both an existing sense of embeddedness, and future intentions to stay in an English institution or the higher education sector. For both personal and professional reasons, for example, initial experiences could be formative and enduring. In particular, the arrival in England for tertiary study appears to be crucial in establishing professional roots. Research in the USA has, for example, consistently demonstrated that a high and increasing proportion of non-citizen doctoral recipients stay on to take up post-doctoral and later career positions and, moreover, that these stayers tend to be drawn from an academic elite (Gaule 2011; Gupta, Nerad & Cerny 2003; Kim, Bankart & Isdell 2011; National Science Foundation 2012).

Given England and the UK's similarly highly internationalised graduate education market (particularly relative to the rest of the EU (Moguérou & Di Pietrogiacomo 2008)) it is unsurprising that here, too, early career research (i.e. post-doctoral) positions are in many disciplines disproportionately held by non-citizens, particularly in elite institutions (see chapter four of this thesis; Kemp et al. 2008; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010).[92] Moreover, at least a third of non-UK citizen PhDs enter their programmes having studied for their previous degrees in the UK (Kemp et al. 2008), indicating UK-centred biographies beginning sometimes years earlier. Supervisors play an important role in the process of embedding, not least through enabling access to networks and post-doctoral opportunities (Ackers & Gill 2008). Also important here is the network centrality and prestige of the PhD-awarding institution (Hadani et al. 2012). These networks are not necessarily nation-bound; again, this would depend on the doctoral supervisor and institution. However, elsewhere, Ackers *et al*. (2008) show that embedding is at least relative: international doctoral graduates in England have reported that problems of reintegration in countries of origin were an important disincentive to returning home. Whilst the presence of early career opportunities in the

[92] These observations were made prior to any possible future declines resulting from anti-migration policies and discourses in the UK, which appear to be having an impact already (Taylor 2013)

English academic labour market clearly enables staying on,[93] then, there is nevertheless evidence of wider processes of localised embedding and acculturation in the decisions and processes taking place.

It is certainly the case that study provided a gateway into the English academic employment market for many of the interviews conducted for this thesis: eight of the 23 had come initially to England as students and stayed on; one had studied in England, had then left and subsequently returned; two others were current doctoral candidates. Of the interviewees who have English doctorates some, such as Greek musician Yiannis and Swiss health scientist Giulia, had undertaken their entire tertiary education in the England; most, however, began at master's or doctoral level. Viewing PhD study as an early career rather than as a study phase (Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008) brings onto focus its role in the process of induction into networks and identities. Nevertheless, its significance must be seen in the context of other study, work and personal factors. Spanish tourism specialist Ernesto, for example, intended to spend only one year in England as a master's student but met his wife, stayed on, and has become personally and professionally deeply embedded.

Moreover, a variety of pathways through education into academic work are evident in the respondents' stories, encompassing different combinations and timings of work and study during their doctoral periods: some followed a fairly conventional early career model, undertaking teaching or tutoring as doctoral students. German historian Fabian's experience, for example, was such that he had 'quite broad [...] teaching experience by the time I finished'. His account makes no mention of the kinds of acculturation that might be expected to accompany transition from tertiary education in one country to another, and this silence may well mask important similarities and differences between elite educational cultures through which he moved, or perhaps his own reluctance to acknowledge them.[94]

Venezuelan psychologist Carlota, on the other hand, had worked as a researcher on a funded project in an apprenticeship-type role in her transition from foreign to English academic, which also began later in her career and points to issues not just of induction but of a more profound personal *transformation* from one academic culture to another. Finally, having studied for a master's degree in England, Ernesto had already taught and undertaken consultancy work in his field of tourism (also mostly in the UK) when he moved into academic teaching and research via a PhD by publication

[93] In fact in some ways England and the UK *rely on* international academics to fill early career research positions (Ackers & Gill 2005) as well as more senior positions in some disciplines (Brennan, Locke & Naidoo 2007). In a broader sense the dependence on overseas students and staff explains the resistance amongst the higher education sector to visa changes (Dandridge 2010).

[94] In fact, ethnographic work on international PhD students has tended to emphasis the multiplicity of national, institutional and departmental and disciplinary cultures that must be negotiated both at the host institution and, on return, at home institutions also (Deem & Brehony 2000; Robinson-Pant 2009).

whilst working at Peakside University; he would perhaps therefore have been comfortable with the cultural and academic norms of English academia from the outset of his doctoral research.

Although non-citizen academics are strikingly over-represented in early career and insecure research positions, for a proportion of this population promotion or other forms of career advancement occur which reflect very concrete modes of embedding in English institutions, or perhaps the English higher education sector more generally. As key career points are reached and non-citizens become increasingly anchored, there appears to be a recursive feeding back into an increasing likelihood of continuing stay. This is relatively unexplored in the literature, though the transition from PhD to post-doc and beyond in a single institution has been characterised as 'inbreeding'. This is particularly a feature of insular systems such as those of Portugal (Horta 2008), Spain (Cruz-Castro & Sanz-Menéndez 2010) and Japan (Horta, Sato & Yonezawa 2010), and is argued to be antithetical to both mobility and innovation in research production.

In addition, studies of academic careers have tended to view them as archetypally 'protean' or 'boundaryless' (Baruch & Hall 2004; Brocklehurst 2003): as a self-managed life-long project characterised by short-term contracts and mobility across institutions, fields and geographies. This is, in academia, accompanied by a primary affiliation to disciplinary and individual standards of quality, and a key place for inter-institutional networks in career mobility (Enders & Kaulisch 2006). However, alongside this is a counter trend which highlights the increasingly institutional orientation to academic work in new models of academic governance (corporate, entrepreneurial, enterprise and so on). Enders and Kaulich (2006), for example, have argued that contemporary universities can and must exercise increasing control over their human and other resources in order to compete in student and research markets. For them, this enhances the importance of internal labour markets and binds academic careers in institutions. These trends will have different impacts in different contexts: an increasing institutional affiliation is already evident in England, whilst elsewhere (i.e. Germany) increasing boundarylessness is likely to be the outcome (Harley, Muller-Camen & Collin 2004).

For many in this study, career trajectories were straightforward: from temporary to permanent and from part-time to full-time contracts; or taking on increasingly senior administrative roles on either a temporary or permanent basis. German physicist Dominik hinted at something almost automatic about his move to permanency: 'there's the normal three-year probation period and then after the three years, as expected, [I] became permanent.' Similar experiences were reported elsewhere: after five years at Peakside University, Ernesto had not only become full-time and permanent, but also head of department; whilst at Daleside University Fabian had become a senior lecturer,

following a period as acting head of department. The ways in which taking on an administrative role could embed an academic in a school or department was highlighted by Fabian, who reported:

> When I arrived at Daleside University I was […] asked to join the admissions and recruitment team. Soon, within a year two, I was director for recruitment and admissions - an ever expanding portfolio thanks to the university's laudable decision to focus on this sector and this particular section and put resources there […] I'm also still senior tutor of the Faculty of Arts and widening participation officer and I'm a director of the Daleside University's Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Of course, the embeddedness discussed thus far should not eclipse the role of mobility in academic career building as conventionally understood, or the embedding of academics in networks not defined by territorially limited spaces. Indeed, mobility appears to have played a key role in the careers of others. For example, Russian mathematician Vadim holds a senior administrative role in his school, and as a later career academic with broader inter-institutional and international experience he was also professionally located in networks which stretched far beyond (and which will be discussed in the following chapter).

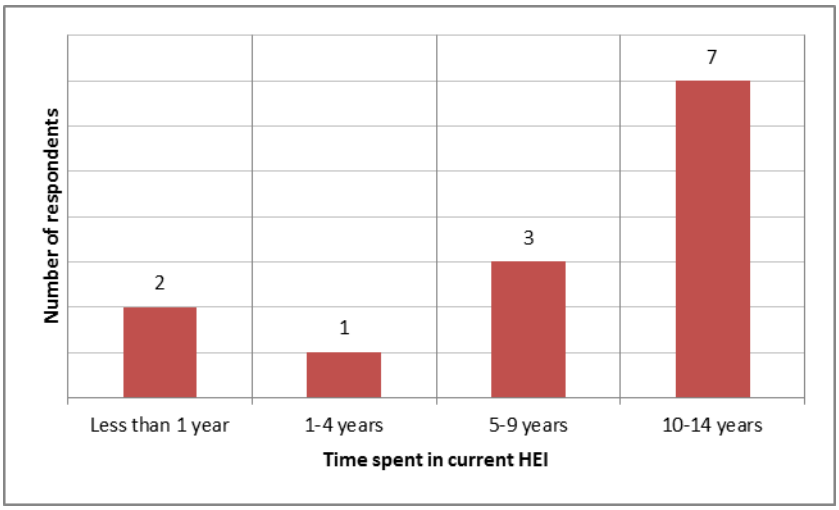
One further way in which academics become professionally embedded in specific geographies is through the nature of their research and outreach activities. This is particularly relevant at a time when theories of the knowledge economy and the role of universities in territorial development strategies have become dominant (OECD 2007). This can lead to tensions in the work of academics. Xu (2009), for example, explores the dilemma for Chinese business academics returning from overseas and attempting to build their careers in China. He finds that they must balance internationally visible research and publishing practices with locally grounded and relevant research; two dimensions which are not always compatible. This was certainly an issue for Chinese electrical and electronic engineer Harry, whose work with businesses in the region around Daleside University and the North more widely was not easily transferable.

Mobility, immobility and academic careers within the English higher education sector

As time goes on, non-citizen academics first become anchored and then begin to embed in their new professional contexts. This process does not necessarily have to be located in a single institution. As noted above, emplacement is a process that can embed a person at multiple sites which are geographically dispersed. In fact, although the statistical data is limited, the interviews suggest that it is not uncommon for non-UK citizen academics to build their careers either across a number of institutions in the English sector. This is a finding entirely consistent with what is known about the temporary and mobile nature of early stage academic careers in general (Auriol 2010; Bennion &

Locke 2010). Of the 23 interviewees, 13 reported that they had, since arriving in England,[95] worked in a single institution. Of these, two were recent arrivals of less than one year; one, doctoral student Sara, had been in her institution for less than four years; three had been in their current institutions for between five and nine years; and the remaining seven (excluding one for whom this data was unknown) had spent between ten and 14 years in their institutions (see Figure 37). The high proportion of interviewees here who fell into the final category suggests a strong degree of institutional embeddedness.

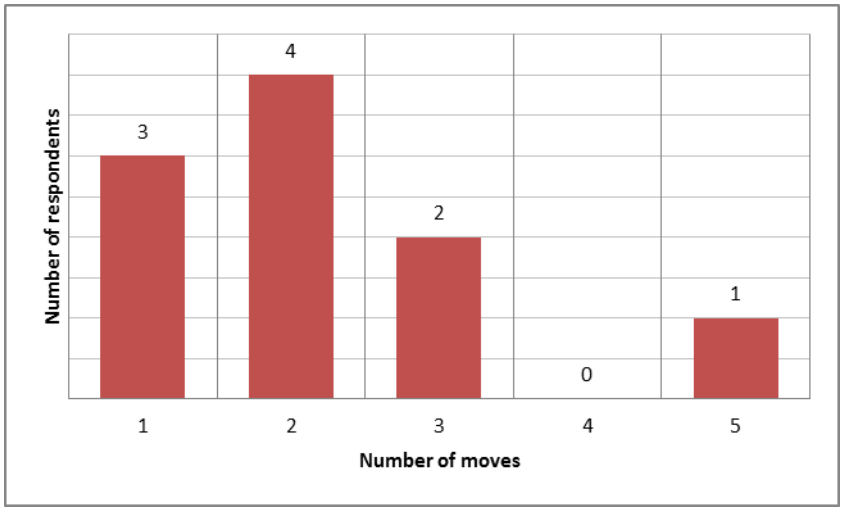
Figure 37. Time spent in current institution of respondents reporting no inter-institutional mobility



The interviewees were also asked about their mobility within the English higher education system. Ten respondents reported having worked only in England and in a number of different institutions (see Figure 38). The modal average number of moves was two; in other words, four of the interviewees had worked in two institutions. Three had made one move between English institutions, and two had made three moves. The highest number of consecutive moves was five, reported by Fabian. In Fabian's case it was evident that this was a product of the fact that he had begun his career in England and experienced an early period characterised by temporary and part-time contracts, and that at one point he had simultaneously held a studentship at one institution and a teaching post at another. More generally, the respondents indicate that, like Fabian though not to such an extent, inter-institutional mobility patterns for non-citizens entering the English academic labour market follow a conventional pattern of a number of short-term contracts.

[95] This figure does not account for those who had previously worked in England and left, only to return again later, or who had worked in countries other than England or their home country.

Figure 38. Consecutive inter-institutional moves within the UK



Whilst for some respondents these patterns of mobility, and indeed immobility, reflected personal and family considerations (explored below), for others it was the outcome of a strategic approach to developing their careers and building their professional profiles. What also emerges is that non-UK citizen academics build their careers through a variety of mobility and immobility practices. Some become attached, or attach themselves, to specific institutions; others are relatively mobile between institutions which in some cases are geographically proximate, and other cases are far apart. Either way, the fairly long periods of time spent by many of the interviewees in the sector in general or an individual institution suggests a great degree of career embeddedness, and investment, in English higher education at various scales. At the broadest scale, the number of interviewees with experience in the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or Ireland on the one hand, and European systems on the other, points to globalised and regionalised patterns of academic cultures and mobility.

Ultimately, however, quantifying the respondents' mobility practices in this way has limited value unless seen in the light of qualitative accounts. For example, many interviewees revealed that finding job security was a significant motivator of mobility at certain points in their careers, and that, in practice, achieving that security obviated the need for further mobility. Fabian's case shows how building a research and teaching portfolio across a number of institutions can be an important step towards greater job security. He reported of his mobility:

> These were temporary positions, positions which gave me the opportunity to follow my teaching portfolio and of course and put butter on the bread. Not necessarily the best thing to do in terms of developing your research but there's little alternative. I was able to develop my research and teaching portfolio, and my research portfolio [was] certainly sufficient in order to be appointed in 2004 to a permanent post here.

In a similar way, activities or contributions conducted in a single place might lead to greater security and a 'satisfied immobility' (Ferro 2006). One way of doing this is through income generating activities (Enders & Kaulisch 2006). For US bioscientist Madeline, demonstrating an outstanding level of success at seeking research income was a decisive factor in her move from temporary to a permanent status at the same institution:

> I wrote four grant proposals that were all funded. That's unheard of and I know that was lucky, but I got grant money from the MRC, from NERC, from BBSRC and I got more than half a million pounds from DEFRA, so they made me permanent when those grants came in.

Madeline's account highlights both the insecurity of the grant-linked academic positions which are common in the post-doctoral phase (and which was commented upon by a number of interviewees), but also the importance to institutions of people who are successful at making grant applications which can raise an institution's profile nationally and internationally.[96]

Madeline's comments are also suggestive of the priorities which shape careers in particular ways in particular labour markets and institutions. The ways in which discipline and practice shape modes of mobility (Ackers, Gill & Guth 2008; Jöns 2007) has been noted in earlier chapters and will be revisited in the next. The processes of embedding, however, need to be explored in the light of national labour markets and institutional priorities. For example, in the US organisational allegiance takes a high priority relative to disciplinary affiliation (Finkelstein & Cummings 2012), particularly compared to France and Germany (Musselin 2010). More generally, Teichler *at al.*'s (2013) analysis of the Changing Academic Profession survey found that institutional affiliation tended to be weaker in more developed systems (and weakest in the UK), and that affiliation to departments was stronger in research-oriented institutions. Overall, there was a tendency for academics across contexts to identify most strongly with their discipline.

As part of their own work on the Changing Academic Profession survey, Lock and Bennion (2008) categorised UK institutions into five groups based on several characteristics.[97] The types of institution they identified were: research intensive universities, other pre-1992 universities, post-1992 universities, post 2004 universities and higher education colleges. Comparing conditions in 1992 with 2007, the authors found a greater affiliation with department and discipline than with institution, though the significance of the institution had increased slightly. Earlier, Lock's (2008) preliminary findings from the same survey revealed an increasing focus on research amongst

[96] A research and grant-winning profile is significant in academic labour markets at an international scale in the light of efforts to recruit internationally to putatively world class institutions (Salmi 2012), and in the UK in the context of the Research Evaluation Framework (Fazackerley 2012; Gibney 2012).

[97] As quoted above, these were 'origin, status, mission, historical wealth, resources, research activity and income, educational provision and student characteristics' (Locke and Bennion 2008, p.233).

academics across all institutions, although those in pre-1992 universities were better resourced and had more time for this function.

The interviewees, almost without exception, demonstrated at least some awareness of the strategic priorities of their institutions. For some this meant they could work to align their profiles with their institutions' missions. Unsurprisingly, given the nature of questions put to the respondents, many discussed the place of internationalisation in their institutions and explicitly noted how their own profile made a positive contribution. Greek health scientist Dimitra spoke of her belief that her international profile was an asset:

> You need to bring different people, you need to challenge ideas, you need to bring new ideas [and] people. I have seen different things and people [and I] have lived and work outside [the north of England].

This position, in fact, fed directly into Dimitra's understanding of the academic labour market, which is worth quoting again:

> If you want to be promoted you should be moving, and actually I think if you want to get higher positions in higher education you have to experience other systems, you have to experience other universities. It's wrong to be in a university for a long time.

The corollary of job security is the issue of 'locking in' to a particular role, institution or stratum of the higher education sector. This represents a form of institutional anchoring and immobility which is not necessarily desired, and is a particular issue for academics trying to establish a research profile in teaching-oriented institutions. Dimitra attributed the differences, at least in part, to the different markets served by an institution. Comparing her own teaching-oriented institution with the other local, research-intensive, university, she noted:

> It's like Northern Civic University next door, their purpose is to have students [with] degrees so when they graduate they can compete in the international market, and that's very different from a lot of markets so it really depends what you are planning to achieve.

From the perspective of research-intensive institution Daleside University, Fabian evaluated the relative importance to his career of various duties:

> The emphasis will be on research, research excellence, which is fine by me. I was also told somewhere that, of course, the teaching has to be right, fine, but also that the administrative and managerial contribution ought not to be underestimated and I have been given quite a few managerial administrative tasks and today I'm not entirely sure that this will be acknowledged, simply because the goal posts are being moved, so I would be very careful in future to be too willing to take on administrative tasks.

In the teaching-focused institution, locking in was something that interviewees were very aware of, though it is not necessarily accurate to describe this as a 'concern'; it was for many compensated for by job security. Nevertheless, in the hierarchy of prestige and reward which defines academic careers, being able to undertake particular types of research enables mobility into and within the elite segments of the sector. On the one hand, Dimitra speculated on a move to research-focused institution simply by saying:

> I have to be realistic you know. [Interviewer: Do you feel [the profile of Peakside University] might be inhibiting your personal career if you were to move into a research driven university?] It will be different, I think it will be different, of course it will be different. I've been in different environments and I know the difference.

On the other hand, Ernesto, in his comments, seemed much more aware of the problems of making his research relevant to different audiences and the impact this has had on his career: 'When I tried to get a job at Northern Civic Uni [...they] did not see me as being rigorous enough, I suppose serious enough really'. The problem for Ernesto stemmed from the fact that much of his research was based on consultancy:

> We do more consultancy than we do writing because by the time the contract's finished somebody else comes along and says could you do this? And again the university values the money and not the papers. […] We were not rewarded for writing. [Interviewer: Would you be penalised for not writing?] No. [Interviewer: No, so it's some indifference?] As long as we want to stay in University B or a place similar we shall be fine.

At the same time, Ernesto clearly felt that whilst the position of his institution on research was not a deliberate strategy, it nevertheless served to lock staff in by hindering the development of their research profiles:

> [Interviewer: Do you enjoy the research side of the work then?] I do but sometimes it's a bit too short term. You know if any of us still want to be employable by the time that we're assessed by the REF, we'll need to write, but that will be at our own expense, you know, the university will not make the space for us to remain employable but we can all see it as a threat, 'crikey these guys are employable they may want to go elsewhere, they may want to move the whole centre elsewhere or key individuals may want to move elsewhere'. I don't really think they're looking at that. [Interviewer: Right, but do you feel that's a conscious thing?] From the University? No, they never see it as one end from the other.

The establishment of a long-term professional profile within an institution could therefore be seen in a number of different ways. In a research-focused institution it could, for example, be seen as proof that an academic has proved her value, perhaps in some dimension of research or other function (as in Madeline's case), and that the institution is keen to hold on to that value through the award of a permanent contract. In a teaching-focused institution, however, greater job security could also be seen as a factor militating against a career move to a more prestigious institution. What emerges

from the interviews is a sense that within the different tiers of the English higher education sector, different inter- and intra-institutional patterns of career mobilities are practised.

Strategic career building

Embedding or anchoring oneself in place was, for some respondents, part of a strategic approach to their careers, often related to external factors. This is connected to, though complicates, the notion of mobility capital, or motility (Kaufmann, Bergman & Joye 2004). Whilst the ability to undertake geographical moves can serve to build a career, it is in some cases evidence of a lack of the capital necessary to remain in place. In such cases it must be seen as less than voluntary. Moreover, there appears in some cases to be an 'immobility penalty', even a professional downgrading, particularly at the point at which a series of temporary post-doc positions might be hoped to give way to a permanent contract. Unsurprisingly, this affects those with families or partners to a greater degree, and women in particular (Ackers 2010; Ackers et al. 2009; Jöns 2011).

Madeline has already been mentioned in terms of the professional risks and downgrading she took for personal reasons, and the ways her social embeddedness in her workplace facilitated her professional security and offset the deleterious consequences of her mobility. In a somewhat similar way, Danish bioscientist Ingrid undertook sideways, within-department job mobility which for many would be seen as a retrograde career step. Ingrid reported her commitment to a career in higher education, though not to research or teaching; she had thus moved to technician's position after a long period on short-term post-doc contracts. A significant motivation for this had been a search for greater security and the possibility to remain in Daleside city with her partner. Although, ultimately, she was still on a temporary contract she was no longer dependent on a series of unpredictable grant-linked projects. Both Madeline's and Ingrid's experiences are representative of tied moves (Ackers 2004), even though they are not ideal-typical examples. Less tied though also affected by caring responsibilities, Harry, as noted earlier, had set a five-year time frame on his career in the English higher education sector, at which point he would reconsider his position concerning mobility.

A further dimension of the strategic approach to career development is in the choice of institution that academics aspire to work in, and the investment they make in their workplaces. This very much leads back to Mahroum's (1999b) notion of magnet sites, but also the ways in which particular places function as career escalators (Fielding 1992) and sites of symbolic and social capital acquisition (Leung 2013). For example, Fabian reported the attraction of reputation that his current institution, Daleside University, had held when he had been looking for work:

> It is one of the top 20 universities of course in terms of research excellence, it very much depends on which department you choose and join and [this school] had a very good reputation, a very strong reputation, and very well established people there.

Similarly, Harry felt that the relatively good reputation of Daleside University mitigated against the need for him to move on:

> Maybe in the UK I think there is some attraction [to other] places but as a lecturer it makes no difference. If you go to Manchester or Birmingham they are at the same level, or maybe just slightly better than [here]. As a lecturer I think from my point of view [the priority] is to publish as many papers as possible, to get as many grants as possible. If you have that basically you can move to anywhere. If you don't have this, finding another job is so difficult.

Building personal reputational capital was also a concern, motivating Libyan health scientist Baqer's move away from his home country, where he was unable to pursue his research, to a more positive environment in which he could 'thrive', as he put it. Maltese archaeologist Lucy, as a doctoral candidate, seemed to feel keenly that her own reputation rested at least in part on her investment in the networks of her workplace, particularly in a social sense:

> I mean your name runs on gossip. People get very relaxed on this. There's a lot of wine flowing in the evening, all our meetings and seminars involve a lot of chat and a lot of wine and a lot of pub meetings, so you have to be in the good books.

Building and exploiting these professional forms of capital, however, requires investment of time and energy which, as Baqer and Lucy illustrate, is very much bound to the extent to which an individual is embedded in institutional or national work contexts. Tensions are evident between the strategies of accumulating capital in one place and deploying it elsewhere; or between deploying existing capital in one place and going elsewhere to accumulate it. They are also evident in, for example, the roles of language learning and cultural adaptation in mobile careers, which for two interviewees were very much a disincentive to further mobility. For US linguist Alex this was tied to his field, and related to his previous experiences as a language learner and researcher:

> [Learning a language] is an investment, yeah. I think before I was more up for investment and I think now I'm kind of like just want to kind of keep to the ones I know, going in, not lose them and continue working on them. It's more a kind of maintenance.

It can be seen from the preceding discussion that the professional factors affecting re-embedding are several and varied. Equally, over the course of a career the significance given to particular factors will vary. Some of the respondents had taken a strategic approach to career building, incorporating mobility within the English sector or immobility within a single institution. For others this amounted to a 'locking in' to a particular stratum, or rather a 'locking out' from the research elite. In practice, the desire to move or stay is therefore not straightforward, and immobility can be as strongly

desired, and as defining in career decision making, as mobility. What can be said with some certainty is that, with the exception of a small number amongst the younger respondents, even a strategic approach to mobility must be negotiated with partners and take into account the needs of family. More importantly, not just duration but also timing are significant determinants of whether and how embedding of non-citizen academics in the English system takes place, with the transitional stage from tertiary education into early career being particularly significant.

Cultural and linguistic familiarity

Research points also to the importance of networks, both professional and personal, in the formation of academic identities at the doctoral level and the success of a candidate in her academic and career project (Sweitzer 2009). Again, these networks are not by necessity territorially localised, through to the extent that they include families, other doctoral students, and supervisors, they are likely to be so. In addition, the location of an incoming non-citizen academic in particular institutions grounds their acculturation and professional induction in those places (Clifford & Henderson 2012; Gale 2011), in spite of the increasingly internationalised and boundaryless (not only geographical) nature of academic careers (Gordon 2009; Henkel 2009).

It is important not to gloss over differences in national academic cultures, even those that appear superficially similar or share traditions and histories. For instance, historical perspectives have identified common themes and cultures of academia unbounded by nation states (De Ridder-Symoens 1996b), or spaces of academic mobility which map on to colonial geographies (Pietsch 2010b). Marginson (2008) has written of more recent developments in terms of a common global field of higher education, although this implies anything but a convergence of models, cultures and practices. It is not unreasonable to assume, however, that there are degrees of differences between systems, and that this makes transition between some easier than others.

For example, on a very broad scale, the notion of embedding can refer to the initiation of a non-UK national academic into the dominant Anglo-Saxon academic cultures, or cultures more generally. Several of the interviewees referenced the fact that the assumed similarities (and, in fact, they were aware that they were assumed) between places such as Australia and the UK, or the UK and Ireland, lubricated their mobility. To some extent, this appears to be a question of perspective and the ways in which the risks of mobility can be minimised through real or imagined familiarity with a prospective destination. At the same time it undoubtedly also reflects real-world patterns of academic mobility, and indeed academic cultures, through the English-speaking world. For Dominik, embedding in an English-speaking academic culture creates opportunities globally within the English-language academic system, whilst his European background offers insights into possibilities

elsewhere. However, that it is not unproblematic is evident in his comments comparing English-speaking systems with France:

> I feel quite comfortable in the UK and with English-speaking backgrounds so I would, would not see any advantage other from what I know from the French academic system [...]. I've known other people who have been professors in France. I would not think that in my individual position, it would be worth the effort, in particular the effort with the language in order to get into the system.

A further dimension to this is the informal portability of cultural and linguistic capital, skills and qualifications possessed by academics of certain non-UK backgrounds. Moreover, as shown by scholars working on the cross-border mobility of cultural capital within academia (Kim 2010; King et al. 2011; Leung 2013; Waters 2009a), there is a degree to which the outcomes of mobility are shaped by the differential translation of forms of capital from one place to another in complex ways (Erel 2010; Pajo 2008). The impact these translations have on an individual would depend on their national backgrounds. In other words, for Americans Madeline and Alex, Irish citizen Ben, and Australian Robert, issues of credential or career recognition, or of linguistic and cultural adaptation, did not arise in the interviews. The in-bound mobility to the English higher education sector for this cohort of the sample appears, at risk of oversimplification, to have been a question mainly of physical mobility and job placement. Qualifications recognition did not appear to be an issue for many of the European respondents either, although culture and language did. However, again highlighting the significance of timing, entering the English higher education sector at an educational or very early career phase seems to have mitigated the 'foreignness' of many non-UK, and particularly non-EU, academics which otherwise might have proved a significant obstacle to entry later on.

The varied experiences reported by the interviewees point to the supranational scale of the Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking cultural and academic world noted above. At such a scale, however, clearly assumptions of familiarity eclipse nuanced reality for some. As reported earlier, therefore, it was possible for Libyan Baqer to say: 'my PhD was in Ireland which is, whatever you say, for me it's just another English country'. Italian archaeologist Sara had never been to England before she entered as a doctoral student, though after eight years working and studying English in Ireland she clearly felt confident enough in her own abilities to cope with the language and whatever differences she might encounter culturally. Ghanaian Tano, for his part, spoke fairly casually of his future move to Ireland, saying that he would 'see how life in Dublin is' before his wife joined him. Professionally, Tano gave no indication that he would need to adjust in any sense; in fact, he focused very much on the internationally collaborative dimensions of his new role. Robert, from Australia, referred to the fact that he and his partner were both the children of British migrants, again pointing to a sense of

assumed or inherited familiarity. These comments are interesting in that they certainly speak to the visibility of the English higher education and research system in a global context and, arguably, the homogenising effect that geographical and cultural distance can have on interpretations. They also suggest that differences go unrecognised or unacknowledged in the mobility of academics across space, somewhat in contrast to the account by Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich (2010) of the many minor and everyday practices that unsettled her own transition from a German academic context to a New Zealand one.

Personal re-embedding, relationships and transformative change

The work- and career related factors noted above influence the stickiness of certain places in important ways and trouble the myth of frictionless mobilities. At the same time, much recent work has highlighted the ways in which professional and personal/social considerations interact in facilitating a transition from temporary to permanent settlement (Ryan & Mulholland 2013), whilst at other times the professional factors are secondary. Sam Scott's exploration of expatriate Britons in Paris, for example, found that there 'are times (particularly when one has a young family) when the itinerancy of globalisation [i.e. mobility] must be checked with familial emplacement rather than professional flexibility' (Scott 2006, p. 1113). This emplacement, however, should not be mistaken for assimilation. As time goes on and professional and/or lifestyle anchoring leads to greater embedding, the 'Eurostars' of Favell's study reported the increasing significance of implicit cultural and social barriers to full integration (Favell 2008a).

Elsewhere, work has focused on the transformation and realignment of identities that necessarily accompany spatial mobility within academic careers (McAlpine 2012). Dervin (2007) and Dervin and Dirba (2008) have looked at the ways in which mobile academics (specifically international students) represent figures of strangeness in the contexts of their mobilities. Drawing principally on the work of Bauman (2002), they articulate a typology of strangeness to represent the different degrees and modes of assimilation into a host context. 'Solid' strangers are open-ended or permanent stayers who are largely assimilated into their new communities linguistically, culturally and socially; 'Liquid' strangers are temporary, disengaged and locate their identities elsewhere. Somewhere in between are 'Fizzy' strangers, who may have some contact with locals, some degree of integration, and perhaps plan to stay on indefinitely. Whilst international students travelling for the entire duration of a degree can be characterised as 'Fizzy' (Dervin 2007), in practice they often aspire to be 'Solid' yet remain 'Liquid' (Dervin & Dirba 2008).

Concerned at the dominance of metaphors of instability, fluidity and self-realisation that have dominated theorising of identity projects, Easthope (2009) has called for a recognition of the roles of both mobility and place. She concluded from her study of young returned Tasmanians indicated that 'identities are incomplete, relational, and hybrid as well as constructed in relation to place and mobility' (p. 75). To some extent this represents a return to the humanistic geography of Yi Fu Tuan (1977), which is also picked up in the work of environmental psychologists on place attachment. For example, Hernández et al. (2007 after Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001) have explored the processes by which individuals become attached or come to identify with particular places, where *place attachment* is 'the affective link that people establish with specific settings, where they tend to remain and where they feel comfortable and safe', and *place identity* is 'the process by which, through interaction with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place'.

Hernández et al.'s (2007) studies of native and non-native residents (both citizen and non-citizen) of a city in the Canary Islands confirmed the significance of duration in fostering greater attachment and identity to place for natives and incomers. They also found that identity emerged after, though separate from, attachment and was stronger at greater geographical scales; suggesting that the symbolism of city or island provided greater identity purchase than that of neighbourhood. There is a professional dimension here that runs somewhat counter to this, however. Not only do incoming non-citizen academics embed in social and professional practices within, and shaped by, their new institutions, they also undertake a reorientation of their identities to align with their new pedagogical-cultural contexts (Clifford & Henderson 2012).

Time and belonging

Based on a study of (im)mobility between geographically defined internal labour markets in Sweden, Fischer and Malmberg (2001) recorded a strong relationship between the duration of stay and the propensity for immobility. Specifically, the longer a person had been in a place, the greater she enjoyed integration in social and professional networks, and the less likely she was to move away. An interesting case of someone with an early and long standing, yet sporadic, association with England is Libyan health scientist Baqer. His relationship to England was built on a family history of visits many years before:

> I've been here many times. I came with my father, and my mother used to like London a lot. Before the problems and the political relationship between Libya and the UK we used to come to London every summer. This is our holidays.

Moreover, respondents who were relatively young, single and free from responsibilities at the time of their move to England arrived with an attendant openness to relationships and experiences which facilitated embedding in ways not generally reported by older interviewees. Demonstrating greater continuity in place and more localised geographies than Baqer, Yiannis from Greece revealed that he stayed on in the city of his doctoral and current institutions because:

> It was the place where I studied and, after I finished my master's, I got a studentship to do a PhD, so after the PhD I was already settled here and I'd done a little bit of work. I'd settled down with a partner and it's been a long time and I had a life here.

Yannis's case points to the intersection of personal and professional factors in shaping immobility decisions at key moments in the life course. His story supports Geddie's (2013) findings that the decision to remain or return home (or indeed move on elsewhere) at the end of a PhD is bound up in complex geographies of professional opportunities and (romantic) personal relationships, which lead to tensions that cannot be summed up in simple stay or go models of decision making. In fact, around half the academics interviewed for this research indicated that the process of personal and/or social embedding had begun early on, in the tertiary phase of their education, and had continued unbroken by subsequent mobility for several years. Where, over time, significant anchoring in the form of the acquisition of citizenship and house purchases occur (discussed below), they are likely to be perceived as an end point, if only to particular life or mobility phases: 'Yeah, I bought a house, basically, so I have a family so that is it [as far as mobility is concerned]' (Harry, China).

As noted above, much scholarship has identified that the duration of time spent in a particular place can be seen to both lead to and result from embeddedness. As time passes, foreign academics practice their lives in ways which embed them in place personally, socially and culturally. One factor which is a product of, or strengthened by, the time spent in a place, is the sense of home and belonging in England. This came across clearly in statements by Dimitra that 'sometimes you want to feel like there is a home somewhere; me at the moment my home is here'. Similarly, when asked about her plans to stay in England, US citizen Madeline responded simply: 'Absolutely. This is home'.

Looking more deeply into this sense of home reveals the different ways individuals interact with their environments at local and national scales. The use of language, for example the key words and phrases that indicate a relationship with a place, is one such way. More than one respondent expressed their feelings for England in terms of 'like' or 'love'. For example, Irish management academic Ben had few expectations of the first English city he settled in: 'I didn't really think I would stay, but when I got there I liked it.' More enthusiastically, Carlota revealed that she was 'very happy' in both England and her city specifically: 'I love England [...] I like it in [Daleside City], I love it'.

On the other end of the continuum respondents expressed more mundane feelings of 'being used to' the 'food and the weather' (Ernesto) or more generally 'English culture or British culture' (Baqer).

Embeddedness could be indicated not just through explicit avowals of familiarity and affection for England, but also an awareness of cultural knowledge and practices and the ability to employ them. Baqer, for example, was aware of the North-South divide, the perception that people in the North have of London and the South, and the role of humour in British culture. He thus teased his interviewer, a Northerner, that: '[England]'s nice, it's a nice country I like it. I love it, especially London – not really [laughter]!' A number of other interviewees revealed an adaptation to local culture in their lifestyles and interests. Ingrid, for example, joked that she was rooted in her new home because 'obviously this is where my football team is. Can't go much further, you know'.

Time spent in place, then, tends to reinforce the intention to stay, and this is particularly true when a stay begins at a point when an individual is open to new experiences and relationships, usually when younger. Furthermore, it is evident that on a personal level, the process of embedding can be transformative. In other words, rather than simply becoming fixed in place through a single significant relationship or other factor, respondents revealed how they had developed networks of friendships, and acculturated in a number of ways to life in England, even to the extent that some had even taken on, with tongue in cheek, local and regional prejudices.

Family and partners

The 'stickiness' of place has much to do with the relationships, particularly romantic, that mobile academics form with partners in and from particular places (Ackers & Gill 2008). Indeed, many interviewees indicated that the needs of family, particularly partners and children, were important considerations in the decision to stay on in England. However, here especially the distinction between (re-)embedding and anchoring might be made. For example, a significant relationship might be regarded in some ways as inhibiting mobility, as was the case for Dimitra, who explained that 'for personal reasons I can't move, my relationship is here.' At the same time, however, the forced immobility that can accompany a relationship is often part of a larger picture in which immobility, or at least a greater sense of social and personal embeddedness, is desired. This is expressed in the comment by Yiannis above.

A partner might be strongly embedded in a particular place, both anchoring and facilitating the embedding process. For Ingrid, whose acculturation was noted above, a relationship seemed to serve these functions: '[I] met my boyfriend [Jim] after I came here and he's very much linked to this place so it's been easy. [Is he from city Daleside City?] Yes, so it's been easy for me to stay here'. The experience of Lucy points to the importance of recognising the impact of age and life stage on the

role of partners. Lucy married into a local Daleside City family, yet both she and her husband are free of the responsibilities of children and still young enough to consider future mobility seriously.

Being part of a dual career couple can strengthen the need to embed geographically (Ackers & Gill 2008; Morano-Foadi 2006). Madeline's journey to England has been discussed in an earlier chapter, though here it is important to again note the degree to which her mobility to, and anchoring in, her current location are overwhelmingly driven by her partner:

> My husband has a well-developed career here at the same university. I was, I feel very lucky to have gotten a job here at the university because I, I really needed a job in this location and I can't believe my luck to be able to do here what I want to do.

Madeline might be considered a 'trailing spouse' insofar as her move was a tremendous personal and professional risk (as per her comment on 'career suicide' in chapter five) undertaken solely to be with her husband.[98] Others, however, highlighted the negotiations and compromise of mobility when both partners are equally invested in their careers:

> My wife has just been appointed to a permanent post at [another reasonably close] university so of course to get two academics […] in a permanent post and within reasonable commutable distance that's rare. So we are nicely set up but neither of us would rule out a move, depending on personal circumstances, the family and the research (Fabian).

One product of the negotiations of internationally mobile dual career couples is the emergence of transnational practices and forms of partial migration in which living and working arrangements are split across national borders (Golynker 2006). At the time of interview, Tano had accepted a job in Ireland which was to begin soon after. However, at least initially, his wife would not be accompanying him:

> [Interviewer: is your wife going to move?] Not immediately because she works in the council here. She's got a permanent position in the council and so what I, what we envisaged doing this, myself come and go at the weekends and things like that until we see how life in Dublin is and whether she wants to live [there].

Whilst research on dual careers has highlighted the career sacrifices of one (usually the female) partner, less attention has been paid to the ways in which relationships are sacrificed for careers. For example, several interviewees spoke of ending or drawing back from a relationship when the couple's career goals, mobility trajectories and geographies had become incompatible. A stark example was the case of Carlota, who had come to England with her children and her spouse. Carlota's desire to stay was not shared by her husband, who had simply 'never adapted' to life in

[98] Here it is also worth noting Russell King's (2002) comment that romantic, or 'libidinal' factors are greatly underestimated in migration research.

England. Ultimately, he returned home and the couple divorced. Carlota's experience hints at the possibility that distance might play a role in both a cultural and geographical sense, in spite of the advances in ICTs and transport which are claimed to have brought people together across great distances. Many of those who spoke of transnational life practices were speaking of relatively short and regular journeys of a couple of hours on a cheap flight; Carlota and her husband would have been negotiating a relationship between Europe and Latin America.

Beyond the issues of dual careers, the types of transnational experience among the interviewees varied and, indeed, were only implicit in many of the stories. Friendships, social networks and extended families left behind in home countries do not simply evaporate, and many spoke of managing their mobilities in ways that combined work travel with visits home. Two of the respondents had spent significant periods overseas in third countries. As reported earlier, their re-location to England enabled them to manage the social and cultural needs of their (Australian and Canadian) spouses and children and achieve proximity to their home countries (Italy and Ireland) and extended families there. Alex spoke of the globally dispersed relationships he and his partner had to manage:

> My girlfriend's from Japan so we go to Japan, we were you know in the summer and very usually and my parents are in Taiwan so I do go and visit them there but I haven't been to the States that often lately. Yes, so I mean I would say I go regularly back to Japan and occasionally you know my brother's in New York, my mom's in California

Giulia's case was slightly different. During her studies a personal relationship developed which anchored her in the north of England, although subsequently her professional life was established in her home country of Switzerland. In this case both personal and professional geographies had to be negotiated:

> [Interviewer: You said your partner was in Peakside City. Is that a tie to Peakside City?] To some extent. I mean, in the same way that when I was working in Switzerland I would come back to Peakside City and, you know, sort of try to arrange work in a way that it would allow me to maybe work in Peakside City at times and be in Switzerland at times, so I mean I've done it before, having a long-distance relationship in that sense so it would have been possible to do that again so, you know.

Not only partners and spouses, but children, too, impacted significantly on decisions to stay, foregrounding again the life course dimension of career im/mobility. In particular, the age of a potential migrant's children has been found to be an important consideration in migration or timing decisions, particularly where education is concerned (Ryan & Sales 2011). For Vadim the decision to move to England was made in the light of the fact that his child was reaching an age at which adapting to a new education system would be potentially detrimental to her future:

> When we moved, she was 13 years of age and it was known that if we sort of delayed it any further, she probably wouldn't be able to get into the British educational system because she would be too old and she would not catch up with the language and so there was a certain age about which you cannot effectively sort of, what's the word, easily adapt.

Equally, however, concerns about a child's ability to adapt can influence the timing of decisions to return (Ackers & Gill 2008). Harry expressed his worry that his daughter would struggle to adapt to life at home in China, having spent her formative years in the UK:

> If my child was educated here, when she reaches 12 or 14 it will be very difficult for her to come back, to go back to China, because basically she is British-born Chinese. I don't think she can write Chinese very well, and in China if you're going to pass the national exam to university that's extremely hard. […] I think before 10 it's possible if I decide to go back to China, she can still come back with me. If after 10, it is big influence. That's a big thing for any foreign national scholars, [they] have to think about family.

Echoing Harry's views are those of Ernesto, whose children had already spent a considerable period of their lives in the UK: 'My life is here now because they're mostly English [...] so they see themselves as more British than Spanish so it's just one of those things'. Exploring this notion of identity further, Carlota pointed to the role of time and acculturation, education and language in her decisions:

> Yeah, we are British citizens, yes. […] Well the kids basically they are English because the twins were three when they came here. […] They're English. [Interviewer: Do they go to English schools here?] Yeah, yeah. [Interviewer: So English is more or less their first language isn't it?] And their way of thinking.[99]

The role of partners and families, then, is clearly a significant factor in considerations of staying or leaving. Children, in particular, appear to play in some cases an instrumental role in deciding the timing of moves. Beyond the role of children, however, there is little predictability in the impact of partners and family. Of course, a relationship with a person indigenous to and deeply embedded in a particular place can be decisive, but may be outweighed by factors such as the age and/or life-stage of an individual.

Formal considerations

The factors discussed up to this point have in common that fact that an individual's engagement with them may be more or less voluntary, and more or less transformative. There are, however, also practical considerations which some non-citizens (particularly third country nationals) have no

[99] Something that does not come through in the interviews and, indeed, was not the focus, is the degree to which children have a say in mobility decision making. Recent research has begun to explore this (Bushin 2009; White et al. 2011), though it is more likely to have purchase in cases, such as Ernesto's and Carlota's, where children are older.

choice but to address and which do not say anything clearly about their degree of embeddedness. For example, in the discussion above questions of identity and citizenship emerged. Whilst identifying with a new host nation suggests a degree of knowledge of, subscription to and adaptation to local norms and values, no such assumption can be made about the acquisition of citizenship. The distinction here is between a phenomenological and a legal conception of identity.

The point at which a person becomes a citizen might indicate either an intention to stay in a country, mark the end of a long period in which an individual has re-embedded in other ways, or neither. Furthermore, it might actually say very little or nothing about the extent to which a person identifies with the country which has granted citizenship. For example, citizenship and can be part of a long-term or strategic migration or transnational work-life strategy (Ip, Inglis & Wu 1997; Ong 1999). However, reducing it to merely instrumental terms obscures the embedding and adaptation that almost inevitably accompany it (Waters 2003). The interviewees who spoke of acquiring citizenship were, by definition, neither UK nor EU citizens at the beginning of the process, and so (at least in the case of non-EU citizens) could not take for granted the immobility required to embed socially and personally, let alone professionally or, indeed, that any embedding could be indefinitely enduring.

The interviewees' comments did not suggest a particularly instrumental approach, though to some extent there was a sense in which the acquisition of citizenship was something rather routine. This echoes Mavroudi and Warren's (2012) findings that the legal processes of migration to the UK can be 'tedious' but not 'onerous'.[100] Tano stated in a matter of fact way:

> I'm originally Ghanaian and then obviously in the UK for a couple of years. I applied for British citizenship so and I have a British citizenship, so I have a dual nationality.

Fabian likewise seemed fairly casual when telling of his own situation:

> My partner is Irish though she also has UK citizenship. [Interviewer: OK, have you got any children?] We have got two children who have Irish passports at the moment. My wife was actually born in the Republic not Northern Ireland so she has Irish Republican and UK citizenship.

Unlike Fabian, whose children had been born into dual nationality, other interviewees with children suggested that the gaining citizenship put an end to a period of anxiety linked to the perceived need for geographical stability associated with raising a family. Harry, for one, noted the contrast between his life before and after marriage and children, and the consequences of visa insecurity:

[100] Mavroudi and Warren (2012) found some cases, particularly of student and doctoral mobility, in which navigating the UK's immigration system had been confusing and stressful. However, no such experiences were reported by the interviewees of this study, probably in part because the data collection took place before the current government's fairly radical changes to immigration policy (although after the introduction of changes to the points based system in 2008).

> I don't have this problem [of visas] because my baby girl is British, [she has a] British passport. So I'm a permanent resident here I don't have visa problems […] I'm qualified for citizenship; I haven't applied yet. For others they do have problems, they have to apply [for] visas every year or every two years. If you have to do something every one year, two years it's not something stable, I think the life is always change. […] before, when I was post-doc, I was not married, I didn't have a baby so it doesn't matter […] I'm by myself, I feed myself, it's OK I can go anywhere. But now I have to think about if I move to somewhere else, I have to bring all my family to come with me.

Ultimately, these practical and personal considerations contributed to an unwillingness to move again, either home or elsewhere, on the part of many of the interviewees. For Madeline it was simply that: 'I've done my emigrating, I don't intend to do anymore'. Ingrid had previous experiences of mobility and was 'not really interested in having to start that whole social networking thing again.' A fairly balanced view was given by Alex, who reported:

> Yeah, yeah it's tiring, especially if you're switching countries too. I mean it's exciting initially but you're making friends, learning the language and everything and it's just exhausting after a while so it's kind of nice to just you know, know what to expect and achieve what you want to.

To conclude this section on the personal dimensions of re-embedding, two final points need to be made. The first is that embedding functions on more than one scale, and a sense of belonging or affinity can relate to broader geographies, or cultural and historical contexts. Yiannis, for example, had lived in Sheffield for some time before his current position became available. He told of how he had been looking for somewhere 'approximate', although this notion of 'approximate' was fairly vague: 'to my mind it didn't make a difference, it was an English speaking country and was approximate'.

Secondly, the ways in which individuals can anchor and re-embed in their new social and personal contexts are many and varied, and not without conflict. Among others, Baqer articulated the complexity of simultaneously belonging and not belonging in the UK:

> While in Britain we feel, even though you are not really British, you're not British at all you feel that this is an open site, an open country and you can really contribute and you can be really, you can feel safe and respected.

All the factors discussed here – time, belonging, language and culture, partners, children and the disincentives of a return or further move – have some bearing on a decision to stay in England and the UK. However, the degree to which they reflect a professional engagement is unclear. Again, there is a distinction between anchoring on the one hand and re-embedding on the other. This is considered in the section that follows.

Conclusion

In the preceding discussion on embedding, and specifically *re*-embedding, the complex nature of the factors which lead to or indicate re-embedding were discussed. The entangling of personal and professional factors in re-embedding and staying on point to the importance of a whole-biographical approach to understanding this phenomenon. Reifying the professional dimensions misses a large part of the picture. Equally importantly, staying on in England or moving on from or within the sector is not always, if ever, the product of a rational consideration of professional factors. The interview data shows clearly the sacrifices made by individuals to *avoid* mobility, to the extent that at least one represents a loss to research in her field.

Another feature of re-embedding, then, is that it may be more or less desired. It can be desired, as in the case of the academic with personal or social ties located spatially who strategically seeks professional security to minimise the necessity of further geographic mobility. It can also be imposed, for example in the case of academics in teaching-focused institutions whose lack of research profile militates against a move, either geographically or institutionally, to a more research focused university. It can also be neutral insofar as it is neither 'desired' nor 'imposed'; it is, rather, simply the product of time spent in place.

There is also a distinction between embedding and anchoring. Although they undoubtedly suggest a degree of anchoring, for example, outwardly visibly signs such as contract type, formal position and so on might not indicate a great deal about embedding. This might perhaps be explored using less formal, more subtle forms of evidence. For example, an academic who is really engaging with her host institution and wider professional context might be expected to demonstrate qualitatively deeper connection in the form of relationships, collaborations and awareness of extended networks within and beyond her particular institution. Harry, among others, spoke of the close professional relationship he had built with his former PhD supervisor and current manager. Madeline, for her part, had clearly made a successful effort to integrate socially as well as professionally in the laboratory in which she ultimately secured permanent employment.

This notion of embedding in one's new context in various social and professional ways is key to understanding the value of non-UK citizen staff and their contributions to their departments and institutions. Do they, for example, re-embed locally and practice their careers in such a way as to obviate the fact that they are international? Or do they, on the other hand, maintain professional relationships across borders and thus 'internationalise' in some way their work places? This notion of non-UK staff embedding 'the global in the local' will be explored in depth in the chapter which follows.

What these accounts point to is the relevance of the notion of the 'expectation of mobility' (Ackers & Gill 2008) to national as well as cross-border movement. In addition, it suggests that the ways in which academics build career capital through the negotiation of mobility and places is as applicable to early career national contexts as it is to transnational education spaces (Kim 2011; Pajo 2008; Waters 2009a).

Chapter 9. The added value of internationally mobile academics: it's not where you're from but where you've been.

The central question of this chapter is 'what value do non-national academics bring to their host institutions and systems?' The 'mobility-equals-excellence' conflation which is evident in discourses of highly-skilled and specifically academic mobility ignores the social dimensions of academic work: of networks, opportunities and barriers, the mechanisms of knowledge transfer and so on. It makes sense, therefore, to examine the ways in which non-citizen academics in English higher education incorporate an international dimension in their work lives and, importantly, the nature of this international practice and whether it constitutes an 'international dividend' to host institutions or the UK more generally.

Previous work on this subject has found evidence that non-citizens are both productive and high quality in their work, and more likely to collaborate internationally than their local peers. Gurney and Adams' (2005) analysis revealed that 12% of highly cited researchers in the UK had been awarded their PhDs overseas. It also showed that 45% had spent some time abroad and 40% had spent some time in the USA. The recent report 'International Comparative Performance of the UK Research Base' (BIS 2011), again drawing on bibliometrics as well as other data, confirms these findings. According to this report, almost 63% of researchers who between 1996 and 2010 had an affiliation with a British institution had also published whilst affiliated with an overseas institution during the same period, with those who had left the UK and subsequently returned being particularly productive compared to those who had never left.

In other recent research, Locke and Bennion (2010) analysed 1,667 responses to the Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey for international collaborations or orientation in research, finding that most internationally active cohort were non-citizen academics who had been awarded their PhDs abroad. This finding proved to be the case across eleven other European countries which took part in the survey (Goastellec & Pekari 2013). Interestingly, ranked by internationalisation of work in terms of publications abroad, international co-authorship, international research funding, international research collaboration, teaching abroad, and teaching in a foreign language the UK is last when measured at senior career levels and last but one (Germany) at junior levels. This relative lack of internationalisation of UK academic work must be seen in the context of the UK's system as a whole relative to its comparators, as well as in terms of the quality of activity in terms of the impacts of outputs, as noted above (BIS 2011; Gurney & Adams 2005).

Whilst the findings reported above certainly point to the benefits of mobility, the connection between nationality and international activity is less clear.[101] For one thing, both the bibliometric studies can only *infer* nationality,[102] and either deliberately sample for highly productive elites or acknowledge the self-selection of such elites amongst internationally mobile academics. Locke and Bennion, on the other hand, were able both to identify nationality and to weight their analysis to account for, amongst other things, career stage (grade), thus generating a more balanced account of the patterns of nationality and international collaboration. One thing that there is a consensus on is that, as reported above, the UK provides a 'fluid, dynamic and internationally collaborative' (BIS 2011, p. 18) environment for researchers, as evidenced by the HESA data discussed in chapter four. One spillover of this is that it undoubtedly facilitates a degree of 'armchair internationalisation' (Locke & Bennion 2010, p. 20), whereby academics entering from overseas provide access to international networks.

Links to home

One of the questions addressed to the interviewees explored the extent to which their professional links, networks and activities were directed towards their countries of origin. Evidence of links to countries of origin would point to three things: the role of internationally mobile academics in integrating countries of origin into the world scientific system; the role of these same academics in forming bilateral relationships between England and their home countries; and the potential for sending countries to draw upon their diasporas in their developmental strategies. It is useful to think here in terms of the links that internationally mobile academics carry with them because it foregrounds the role of networks in understanding the ways in which non-citizen academics connect with and contribute to flows of knowledge to their home countries without necessarily making a permanent return move (Meyer & Brown 1999).

Recently a note of caution has been sounded that viewing mobile academics in terms of their nationalities essentialises identities as ethnic/national and underplays the complex motivations and considerations that inform mobility (Robertson 2010) or, indeed, narrowly defines mobility in terms of human capital that can be unproblematically called upon by sending nations (Fahey & Kenway 2010). Adrian Favell has argued that the nation is no longer either the primary or necessary location

[101] Moreover, the link between foreign citizenship and high productivity relative to local staff was explored in a US context by Webber (2012). She speculates that the difference in productivity can be partially explained by the fact that international academics spend less time on teaching and more on research than their US colleagues.

[102] The 2011 BIS report, for example, assumes nationality from the institutional affiliation at the time of first publication.

of identity, whilst Ley and Waters (2004) found that one motivation for the migration of business people from Hong Kong to Canada was 'an intentionally sought status passage to a new identity' (p. 120). It may rather, therefore, be the case that the identity of specific professional circuits of scientists, business people and so on are the key to understanding the affiliations and identities that define mobile academics (Amit 2007).

Nevertheless, Yang and Welch (2010) examined the networks and collaborations between Chinese academics in Australia and those in China and found they were deeply affected by the conditions of work in China, but equally by cultural norms that shape the ways in which relationships are formed or develop.[103] Such conditions limit the possibilities for China-based academics to collaborate, even though overseas Chinese may collaborate quite frequently with one another. Nevertheless, it has been shown that the experiences and networks of diasporic academics can in some circumstances be central in internationalising institutions in countries such as Korea (Namgung 2007), particularly if they are formed in highly prestigious overseas institutions (Velema 2011). Incoming short-term mobility, for its part, can be instrumental in the integration of a national system into global networks (Jöns 2009).

The responses of almost all the interviews carried out for this study indicated connections to countries of origin, although links varied in the ways in which they had been established, and the types and extent of activity they generated. Libyan health scientist Baqer and Russian mathematician Vadim, for example, both in later phases of their careers, spoke of exploiting existing links which they had established with colleagues earlier in their careers in their home countries. On the other hand, a number of the earlier career academics had productive links with home even though they had undertaken all or most of their study in the UK. Giulia, for example, spoke of the importance of a post-doc position she had had in Switzerland straight after she gained her PhD in the UK. Building on a connection she had established whilst researching for her PhD in Switzerland, she was offered a position on a three-year project which involved 'travelling back to Switzerland quite a bit. So I've got sort of most of my contacts I guess are sort of in, in Switzerland in that sense or have come out of that research project as well'. Giulia also provided an interesting example of how a personal relationship can become professional, perhaps an extreme case of a friendship network not only overlapping with a professional one (Melkers & Kiopa 2010; Pepe 2011) but in fact generating one:

> [Interviewer: How did you get involved with it, with these links [back home], was it people you knew before or did it just start when you did your PhD?] No, [...] just people I knew before. So friends of mine that I grew up with who went to university in Switzerland, and although in quite different disciplines. Particularly one friend that I sort of, after PhD, we

[103] Here Yang and Welch (2010) are referring to the Chinese notion of *guanxi*, which defines a person's networks and relationships and the expectations that accompany them.

> sort of sat together and thought, you know, where would our interests sort of converge and would we want to do something, and we sort of did some research together and wrote a couple of papers together.

To the extent that professional networks are the product of induction into professional communities, it is to be expected that those networks will reflect the geographies of the places and people in which induction takes place. Avveduto (2001), for example, found the existing links of supervisors and host departments to be significant factors in shaping the patterns of international activities of a cohort of Italian PhD candidates. The evaluation of mobility within the EC's Marie Curie programme similarly reported the significance of 'pre-existing connections which typically served to 'channel' mobility' (van de Sande, Ackers & Gill 2005, p. 17). In an era of increasing international mobility at doctoral and post-doctoral level (Bound, Turner & Walsh 2009; Moguérou & Di Pietrogiacomo 2008), however, it cannot be assumed that these networks will involve home countries. This is borne out by respondents who had undertaken their tertiary studies in England and who reported few or no pre-existing professional relationships to home. Greek nationals Dimitra and Yiannis, for instance, both reported having professional and personal links to Greece. However, as relatively early career academics they were also in the process of forging entirely new links through conferences and accessing established networks. Yiannis, for example, revealed that:

> A lot of [links] were through my travels to conferences and festivals in Greece, […] And I was online with a colleague yesterday from the University of Thessaloniki who I've met through such conferences.

Although older, Ghanaian Tano had also begun and practiced his academic career entirely in England. His professional links to home had, at least in part, been made subsequently, and were closely connected to the geographies and concerns of his field of Development Studies:

> I put in a Royal Society research grant and [...] then we had to go to Ghana, so it was during that trip in Ghana that I met this other gentleman who eventually became a co-author on one of our papers.

Centres of excellence in particular fields and in particular locations are known to be associated with the development of productive collaborations and networks that cross borders (Mahroum 1999b) and are, to some extent at least, enduring and embodied (Millard 2005). The interviews undertaken here certainly support the evidence that networks established in core institutions can be both enduring and portable. Vadim, for example, began his career in a key Russian centre of scientific and mathematical excellence. He remains connected with his former institution, but more importantly to an internationally dispersed set of networks and collaborations which were established there. His

comments pointed to the fact that his time at this institution gave him an insider status in a core group of academics in his field:

> I'd say there are two components of [my association with my former institution]. One of course is just biographical […], people I knew from there, I continue to know them […] and another thing is that laboratory, which was then in Naukograd, doing these spiral waves, it was a quite, what's the correct word, in the, the front edge. So the people from that laboratory, they dominate the field and so since I continue to work in the same field, so even if I wasn't from Naukograd but doing this particular sort of science, I would have to be in contact with them, direct or indirect.

In contrast to Vadim's experience, the peripherality of Baqer's Middle Eastern (Libyan) background, as well as his current position in a post-1992 institution, had shaped his professional engagements with home. He spoke of the need to consciously establish and nurture specific types of links relevant to his institution's missions and activities: 'to justify my salary and things I try to open links with Libya and the Middle East to recruit students and to really go there to do some lectures, do some training.' A final factor which can affect the extent and nature of non-citizen academics' professional links to their home countries is the nature of the fields in which they work. For example, Spaniard Ernesto's work in sustainable tourism limited his links to home in Spain because this field is relatively undeveloped there. At the same time, like Baqer, the character of his current (post-1992) institution shaped the nature of his engagement. He reported that Spain was

> […] not really the place where I can see professional things moving on, partly because the idea of sustainable tourism in Spain hasn't really taken off, so the best practice cannot be found there. So if we go to Spain it's to be able to get paid; to teach people how to do it and not as a place where we can see best practice examples of what is to happen.

In considering the international activities of the interviewees, and particularly where it is home-facing, disentangling the professional from the personal is not always easily done or even possible. Research into return migration has found fairly consistently that personal factors such as attachment to parents and family are dominant in return decisions (Franzoni, Scellato & Stephan 2012; King 2000), and can result in the development of productive networks. However, where home is a country which lies outside the core of science producing nations, links to home are often built by individuals at their own cost and without institutional support (Ackers & Gill 2008). This personal dimension is reflected in interviewees' comments suggesting that national origins can lead to a 'home-facing' professional international orientation. This orientation can be built on a deeply personal cultural affinity, but it can also be a practical form of capital to be exploited professionally. The example of Guilia's friendship which became professional has already been mentioned, but Dimitra, Baqer and Thomas also reported that they were actively working to establish collaborations with their home countries of Greece, Libya and France respectively.

A previous chapter looked at the ways in which family status and life course could affect decision making, often inhibiting mobility (Ackers et al. 2009). This work provides clues to the ways in which personal factors affect the timings or destinations of other professional activities. For example, Ackers and Gill (2008) have found amongst Eastern European scientists living and working elsewhere in Europe 'a stronger urge to rekindle old ties or generate new links as the life-course evolves and scientists become concerned about aging parents or their children's education or simply wish to return home' (p. 146). These findings support the idea that migrants, no matter how permanent, often retain an 'illusion of return' (Faist 1997). Indeed, where respondents in the interviews conducted for this thesis spoke of the ways in which friends, family and children connected them to home and demanded some degree of transnational activity, this did not necessarily extend into their professional lives. Some, such as Ernesto, for example, reported that a limited number of professional activities facilitated occasional homeward journeys:

> I do relatively little with Spain, you know, I do specific things in terms of a couple of publications and so on; mostly I tend to use invitations to go back to Spain to go and see family and friends.

Time and embedding emerged as a factor in other cases: Madeline, one of the most settled of the interviewees, reported that she had returned to visit her family in the USA only twice since her arrival in the UK in 1998; moreover, she had few professional links with the USA (interestingly, the main ones she did speak of had been made at a conference in Singapore).

One thing that should be emphasised, however, is that the degree to which these connections were active or potentially useful varied a great deal. This dimension of international activity reflects the changes in specialisation that occur over time or the course of a career, which can render redundant the home-facing networks that had been useful earlier (Ackers & Gill 2008). One factor that appears to influence the degree of decay of this is the openness of home systems: Gill's (2005) research on the professional links to home of Italian academics in the UK found that the insularity of the Italian system meant that expatriates found it 'hard to maintain fruitful collaborations at a distance' (p. 336). In other cases it is a product of the ways countries of origin are connected to disciplinary, reputational or infrastructural geographies. In yet other cases, the political conditions that led to initial out-migration still maintain and can inhibit return or collaboration.[104] Carlota, for example, reported significant barriers to both personal and professional links with her home country of Venezuela. One issue was the difficulty that potential collaborators from back home experienced in

[104] Perhaps this point about political contexts and social stability is slightly obvious, which is why it is relatively unexplored in terms of international collaborations and higher education and/or research mobility. As noted in the previous chapter, however work on Chinese scholars overseas has shown the significance of political conditions at home on return intentions (Chang & Deng 1992; Zweig 1997).

being granted permission to leave; a second was her own fear that should she return, even for a short visit, her children would not be allowed to leave again.

For some respondents, then, links to home were of little practical value at all. For example, Ingrid's connections to colleagues in Denmark, whilst active in the past, had become redundant as her career changed direction; and whilst electrical and electronic engineer Harry maintained links with former classmates and tutors in China, he felt that the situation there compared unfavourably with England in terms of infrastructure and professional opportunities in his discipline. This contributed to the non-productivity of his links even as other disciplines, for example the biological sciences, have begun to benefit from strategic Chinese government investment and become increasingly internationally connected (Jonkers & Tijssen 2008).

Links to third countries

As was the case with the reported links to countries of origin, almost all respondents referred to professional connections with multiple international sites and contacts in third countries. Again, these connections were varied in type, degree and outcomes. There was, however, a tendency for reported activity to reflect the known distribution of international scientific power amongst the 'triad' of the USA, Europe and Japan (Mahroum 2008; Veugelers 2010).[105] For example, there was a regional (European) dimension to much of the activity, whilst the USA was a site of current, past or potential connection for almost all respondents. Added to this is the importance of disciplines and disciplinary practices in shaping the geographies and mobilities of academic work (Jöns 2007), as well as the differing 'expectation of mobility' across fields (Ackers & Gill 2008).

Professional networks are established in all manner of ways, and any given way of making connections is not necessarily more likely to feature in the profiles of international staff than local staff. For example, and reinforcing other findings on networks (Ackers & Gill 2008; Jöns 2007; Melkers & Kiopa 2010), there was a consensus amongst the interviewees that conference attendance was an important way to make new connections and reinforce existing ones. However, there was no straightforward correlation between the location of a conference and the geographies and outcomes that might be expected. In fact, the location of a conference appears to be, in theory at least, somewhat irrelevant to the geographies of networks and collaborations that are generated. A caveat here would be that particular locations would generate regional patterns of attendance reflecting existing geographies of internationalisation (de Prado Yepes 2007; Smeby & Trondal 2005). Significantly, several interviewees spoke of the peripatetic nature of key annual conferences in their

[105] There was little evidence amongst the interviewees of collaboration with the emerging countries, such as China, which have begun to disrupt the notion of the Triad of innovation (Mahroum 2008; Veugelers 2010).

fields, designed to capture over a period of years all those potential attendees for whom distance may be a barrier.

The patterned geographies of conference network building are illustrated well by US-citizen Madeline's experiences, which show how a conference overseas can lead to links at home, and vice versa. Madeline not only met her future husband at a conference that she attended early in her career, and which led to her migration to the UK; she also made enduring and internationally diverse professional connections, some of which were with her country of origin:

> [I] represented the US at an international meeting in Singapore in 1995. [Interviewer: Did you make any collaborative networks at all while you were there?] I did actually, people that I still keep in touch with. So I met [a scientist] who is now a professor in the US. He and I were both in the same sort of areas but he was a post doc at the time, and I met up with people from Australia and so, yeah, I did meet quite a few people, not always from outside the US though. So there were a number of senior level professors from North America that I met, that I'm still in touch with today […] And there were some academics in Australia and the UK that I met there as well.

Madeline reported further that, following her move to England, she had attended a conference back home in America which had been fruitful in terms of establishing new *European* collaborations and accessing *European* networks:

> I did attend the ASM, the American Society for Microbiology, meeting [in 2001] I met some, a woman from Spain at the time and that put me into an EU group which gave me some contacts with a professor of microbiology in Germany and a professor who is now rector of the University of Oslo, and I have kept those links going. So I have served as an external examiner [at] the University of Barcelona and the University of Oslo for both of these people that I met during that conference.

Madeline's experience, then, highlights the ways in which the geographies of a field interact with the geographies of conference attendance to generate interesting patterns of cross-border association and activity. In general, whilst Madeline's story points to a confident and gregarious personality skilled in accessing and navigating professional networks, there is nothing to suggest that her nationality plays a necessary role in generating geographies of outcome from her patterns of cross-border mobility and conference attendance.

To a limited extent the same is true of those that reported association with key nodes, or magnet centres (Mahroum 1999b), in geographies of academic activity and the ways in which these associations provide access to internationally distributed networks. On a more micro level, the attraction of an institution or a department is often associated with a particular academic or group (Millard 2005). On the one hand, Giulia spoke of her work in a key site and with high profile academics in the UK which drew other researchers from abroad. In this case, it is not immediately

obvious that her non-UK background would have been an advantage; her UK-citizen peers would have had the same opportunities to interact with guest researchers and build international networks. Giulia reported:

> There was a lot of people who'd come to do either things with [my first supervisor] or with [my second supervisor…], so some of those people I became friends with […] fostered links in a sense that, you know, we would try to get them here […] or they would try and get me there. I've been a few times, I've been to Finland basically on the strength of knowing people from when they were in [my doctoral institution] in a sense and sharing sort of, you know, similar interests.

On the other hand, association with a key site overseas can lend an individual's geographies of activity a distinct character. Returning to the case of Vadim, a large number of his international associations and active collaborations remain or could be traced to Naukograd, the institution in which he began and built his career: 'there are still contacts with the people back in Russia and some joint publications, the most recent one was just over the last year and we still have some other things in mind'.

These two examples, Giulia and Vadim, show the importance of access to key nodes, in the form of both centres and people, in the international circuits of an academic field. To the extent that many of these nodes are outside England and the UK, it is reasonable to expect that academics with previous experience in those places carry with them access to networks originating in those nodes. Vadim, having spent a large part of his career in Naukograd was clearly well embedded there and in its circuits. At the same time, the centre itself is well-embedded in the field, providing continuity and reputational stability for those associated with its networks. Adding an interesting dimension to this, Thomas's case points to the transient nature of the centrality of certain sites in academic circuits. Thomas reported that his move from his previous to his current institution (both of which are in the UK) was in part prompted by the loss to the USA of a leading professor with whom he had been working. This suggests that, just as the status of a site can be built on virtuous cycle of reputation attracting high quality academics, who in turn enhance reputation, so the reverse phenomenon of a 'vicious spiral' can occur (Mahroum 1999b).

A further important contributor to internationalised academic geographies is the ongoing mobility of colleagues from earlier career phases. For example, Vadim's networks represent, amongst other things, a type of diasporic outward mobility from the institution in Naukograd[106] in which he built his career. Moreover, the mobility of his colleagues from that stage of his career is ongoing and

[106] Name changed to preserve anonymity.

multiple, producing an ever-changing map of cross-border associations. These patterns are evident in the summary Vadim gave of his international activities:

> […] I was rather active at some point with laboratory in the United States. However, […] the person in that laboratory was also from back in [Naukograd]. [Naukograd] is the main town in Russia where I'm from. […]. The current collaborator, we're doing a grant, it's an SRC project, the lady that was here, she's an investigator there and co-investigator. Another co-investigator works in Warwick University. He, however, is American so he came from the United States here […]. People from [Naukograd], from that laboratory with which I was working back in Russia, they kind of so much spread geographically and we're still in contact. As I say, there are some people in the United States and some of them are, one of them as I say in Netherlands, one of them is officially in France but, since his official retirement, he has taken up an honorary position in Germany, Max Planck Institute, that's my former supervisor. [...] Yes, that person in the Netherlands, back from [Naukograd], now in Netherlands, he was an external examiner [for] my PhD student last year, a year ago, so it's kind of collaboration.

Again there is a personal dimension to these geographies of dispersal. Dimitra, for example, reported that one of her friends and collaborators had moved to Israel, thus adding that country as a node in her network. However, not only friends and colleagues, but also students can go on to both exploit and enhance an academic's networks, an insight which complicates the correlation of seniority with network centrality and productivity (Ackers & Gill 2008). Madeline, for example, referred to former supervisees who had gone on to post-doc positions in laboratories in Toronto and Vancouver, whilst Tanya reported longstanding relationships with her own doctoral supervisors and their subsequent supervisees:

> [Interviewer: With the student that you're supervising, just after the PhD would you expect that student to go and collaborate with you or retain connections with you?] Yes, yeah I would expect it […] in different places. And there's also the way people in the department are connected with other places with their [former supervisors], with their students. [Interviewer: Right, right, so in that sense is it good to have students going on to other places and retaining those connections with them?] Yes. […] I maintain some connection with them at Bonn and in my case my supervisor has retired since, but I am in touch with some of his students, yeah.

In a different way, which reflected his own professional priorities, Ernesto considered his students to be 'the key' to future collaborations and networks both in the UK and abroad:

> Most of the consultancy that we have is from the alumni, I mean our alumni working for the World Bank, the UN, World Trade Organisation, so they bring a lot of projects to us, you know, so they're not alumni in the traditional sense, they already came in with five, ten years' experience before they did the master's, they've come out now believing in us as a team so they come back and bring in regular projects.

More than the mobility of others, an academic's own prior experiences of working or studying elsewhere shaped the international professional geographies for most of the respondents who had

such experience. Excluding short-term mobility such as conference attendance, and focusing on longer-term episodes, reveals ongoing patterns of association related to the previous international experiences of many of the respondents, emphasising the importance of early career mobility in establishing productive and enduring networks (Melin 2004). This points to the embodied nature of network capital, or rather a sense that mobile academics can, to some extent at least, 'carry place with them'. Italian Luca thus reported that he still had connections in Australia, where he undertook his doctoral work, whilst others referred to more explicitly active connections. For example, again due to time spent there during his PhD, Thomas spoke of a 'strong network in the States which means sometimes I'm invited by colleagues to give papers at conferences'.

In some cases, essential disciplinary infrastructures tied to specific sites are both magnetic and fertile contexts of enduring professional relationships. German physicist Daniel spoke of the 'very, very vibrant environment' that he experienced working in CERN in Switzerland and, when asked if he had any enduring collaborations from earlier in his career, responded:

> Yes, yes. I mean, some more some less because at some point you cannot expect to keep alive more than a certain amount of collaborations […], but yes I mean actually some of the very old collaborations are still running and very successful.

Others pointed to the ways in which initial relationships had spun out into others that were more distant in terms of networks and dispersed in terms of geographies. These accounts evoked Granovetter's (1973) notion of 'the strength of weak ties'; the connections which link us with people who lie outside our immediate networks and which can facilitate the flow of novel ideas and practices between groups (Millard 2005). Tanya, as noted above, remained engaged with networks established in her doctoral phase in a German institution, although she reported that these networks had evolved so that they incorporated not her now-retired supervisor, but rather her supervisor's former students.

Providing something of a contrast to these accounts was American linguist Alex, one of the more internationally mobile of the respondents. Although having lived as a post-doc and in other capacities in Japan, Korea and Germany, he reported little in the way of ongoing associations with colleagues from earlier career stages beyond 'seeing them at conferences'. At the same time, however, his publications demonstrated a fairly varied set of international collaborations. This, he reported, was not necessarily by design:

> [Interviewer: I notice that some of your co-authors, it's quite diverse in terms of national backgrounds, is that a conscious decision?] Not so much, it's more just certain projects require certain people or someone has an interest in that topic [.] You find that they just want to work on a topic, you work on them.

It is possible that the apparent absence of an established and productive network is due to Alex's fairly early career stage. In addition, his specialisation of Asian languages could mean that he was more engaged in fieldwork than network-building whilst overseas. A further point to note, however, is that the interview took place very soon after he had arrived from overseas at Daleside University, at a point at which he was still settling in.

Alex's case leads on to the important issue of the role of disciplines and disciplinary practices in shaping patterns of international activity. That geographies of knowledge and practice are often specific in terms of both spatialities and mobilities has been noted (Jöns 2007). One defining feature of practice is that of fieldwork. For example, Ghanaian geographer Tano, working in African development, by definition needs to undertake fieldwork there. Ernesto's geographies, in a slightly different way, are also shaped by fieldwork, this time in terms of his centre's consultancy work in the field of sustainable tourism. Other examples are those of Max (Dutch) and Fabian (German), both historians and working in the fields of African and Iberian-American history respectively. Both these respondents indicated the need for fieldwork in specific national destinations, but also referred to collaborative networks that were both regionalised and dispersed more widely, and included centres in the USA. Hence, beyond fieldwork, the professional practice of these two academics was fairly unbound by location except to the extent that they retained proximity to regional centres. Similarly, Alex's work in Asian languages, modelling language acquisition, could be carried out in Asia itself or the USA, though Alex chose to work in England because of its proximity to Europe, where the field is 'richer than it is in Asia, maybe, and sophistication is higher'.

These patterns were repeated in the work of mathematicians and natural scientists, who reported a more distinctly Eurocentric regional dimension, though with a similar orientation to the USA. Whilst mathematics as a cognitive practice is not necessarily place-bound (Jöns 2007), Russian mathematician Tanya nevertheless related that significance of the fact that the distribution of her field was 'strong in Europe I suppose, in the United States; *kind of the usual*' (author's emphasis). However, whilst Tanya needed no more than 'a good library' to conduct her work, big infrastructure projects played an important role in shaping the geographies of physicist Daniel. He recalled how in the past the USA was the key destination for academics in his field, but this was no longer necessarily the case:

> Now the biggest research laboratory in my field is CERN. If CERN will be the biggest research laboratory when I'm senior I don't know. At the moment it looks [like] with a declining willingness, but also possibly the declining ability, to invest in education and research in the western countries we will more and more move to the East. This is already happening. I mean, there is a reason why in my field the growing centres are probably further east. So yes, it may be that the next big collider project happens in Russia or that it may happen that it's in Japan, probably less likely, possibly even in China. So in this case of course more and

> more of my travel would go to these countries, but this is not because I want to target these countries in the first place, this is because this is how the field moves.

Overall, respondents with experience of a third country reported access to networks and collaborations stemming from or remaining in those places. An interesting finding to emerge from the interviews in this regard was the fact that often these networks were established early in a career, particularly in a doctoral phase. This reflects what is known about the tendency for mobility to be characteristic of earlier career phases, and the importance of this mobility (Ackers & Gill 2008; Melin 2004). More surprising, perhaps, is that these connections appear to endure for fairly long periods of time, even when the members of a network may have all moved on to other institutions or countries, or key figures have retired.

Again, however, it is difficult to say whether these patterns reflect geographies of academic work specifically associated with non-UK staff. Whilst non-UK staff are more likely to have certain types of mobility experiences than their local peers (by definition), and are therefore more likely to possess the kinds of network capital associated with mobility, the analysis here has taken no account of either the experiences of UK staff, nor the rich opportunities they have to access international networks and establish cross-border collaborations through conferences and other fora. Equally, of the sample of 23, only nine respondents had third country or multiple-country international experiences. The more common pattern, as noted above, was of limited mobility incidences between just two countries. For those less internationally mobile academics, it was not uncommon to report quite a significant degree of localisation in professional geographies. In other words, the spatial distribution of their networks and activities were very much UK-based and possibly indistinguishable from a local colleague.

Localisation of professional geographies

To the extent that non-citizen or internationally mobile academics exhibit particular geographies and qualities of international collaboration, it is worth exploring in depth how durable they are (Ackers & Gill 2008; Turpin et al. 2008). In what ways, for instance, do local conditions reorient the productive networks of incoming internationally mobile academics? How likely is it, moreover, that a career begun in England in the doctoral phase may be entirely localised, regardless of the national profile of the individual? As is to be expected, all non-UK citizen interviewees reported some degree of localisation of their activities, although for some it was more significant than others. Exploring the nature of 'localisation' through interviews revealed a number of factors affecting the nature and degree of this phenomenon.

Interviewees who had established their academic careers in England, especially in the doctoral phase or earlier, did in fact tend to exhibit a strong local dimension to their geographies of practice and association. An extreme example of this is the case of Greek music technologist Yiannis, who reported that at this early stage in his career he had collaborated 'only with colleagues from my department, I haven't had collaborations with people outside'. Harry, at a more mature career stage, spoke of a number of dormant links to his home country of China that he would consider exploiting in the future, although as he said: 'I've been here for quite long, most of the connections [in China] have gone'. Up to this point, then, having built his career in the UK, at his current institution, and in a field that relies very much on collaboration and funding from local industry, Harry reported:

> Now I think in terms of the UK, yeah, because if you want to apply for EPSRC research grants you have to have company support from UK companies or UK government or something, so I'm not in a position to do something internationally. National ones are something I can do; other things [are] not possible.

As a counterpoint to these examples, Fabian's experience demonstrates that a locally established career can develop strong international dimensions:

> My collaborative networks were established, of course they have developed and flourished and expanded since, but the initial networks were established while I was in Oxford. [...] so really my initial networks are Oxford-based, or rather they go out from Oxford, but of course European and US American mainly.

Fabian's comments point to the fact that a more international institution, which is a key node in the movement of elite academics through global circuits, can be the site of a career built locally which nevertheless has strong international dimensions. This finding is consistent with quantitative work on the internationalization of elite institutions in the UK (Fenton, Modood & Smetherham 2011 and chapter four herein). Equally, in contrast to Harry's local and industrial orientation, Fabian's field, and fieldwork, in medieval European history have defining regional and international geographies.

Localisation is, of course, only one feature of the embedding of non-UK citizens into their new environments. Whilst it is an experience shared by all the interviewees to a greater or lesser degree and in various ways, it is nevertheless not defining for most. Several factors, in fact, mitigate the effects of localisation in the work of the respondents. Two have already been alluded to: Vadim's seniority and career stage give him networks and reputation that enable him to minimize his mobility whilst remaining international. Moreover, his reputational capital is such that he has himself become a node in circuits of mobility, manifesting at least some of qualities Schiller and Diez (2011) identified in their Star Scientist returnees to Germany. Vadim reported: 'Sometimes you have to go sort of, to visit other people for collaboration. More often they come to me'. Neither is Vadim

unusual in having international networks which are currently inactive. As noted, Harry's networks, too, whilst predominantly local, nevertheless retain the *potential* for international collaboration with currently unproductive connections at home in China. Two points are worth reinforcing from these examples. The first is that networks have the potential to endure over time (Ackers & Gill 2008); the second is that, through networks established in early career phases, individuals can become 'conduits' in circuits of knowledge (Turpin et al. 2008).

A further factor which enables locally practiced careers to retain, develop or maintain an international dimension has been the emergence of ICTs (Larsen & Urry 2008). In work on migration and place attachment, ICTs have been seen as contributing to the emergence of a 'place elasticity' through which strong ties can be maintained across great distances in the absence of physical mobility (Barcus & Brunn 2010). Importantly, many of the life stage and gender issues that inhibit physical mobility of women and carers are absent in the use of ICTs (van de Bunt-Kokhuis 2001). On-line journals globalise access to research, and institutional and professional web-pages do the same for reputations; whilst video conferencing allows seminars to be broadcast globally as they are happening or stored to be accessed later. Moreover, the ability to communicate via email is a major factor reported in internationalising the profiles of many of the interviewees. Earlier chapters discussed how emails enabled certain respondents, such as Luca and Sara, to make initial contact with their doctoral supervisors and begin their careers. Later career academics Thomas and Lucy both spoke of using email to make initial contact with potential collaborators. For Lucy, for example, ICTs contributed to the dissolving of national boundaries. She reported that: 'I don't really think about boundaries. I mean now with the internet and email you don't think 'oh this person's in Germany or this person's in America', you just email and I hope to meet through all the conferences'.

As Lucy's comments suggest, emails have been incorporated into other forms of communication, and exist alongside face-to-face interactions which occur through mobility to other fora, such as conferences. Several interviewees spoke of how emails tended to be used to follow up and reinforce relationships established in other ways.[107] Vadim was unusual in that he felt that email could almost completely replace face-to-face communication:

> Well, all people are different of course. As far as I'm concerned I can maintain a relationship by email without ever seeing that person but I am also sure there are people not like that and they need to actually see the, the person, look into their eye before they can talk meaningfully.

[107] This combination of human and technological mobilities points to the usefulness of an Actor Network perspective (Latour 1987) on the internationalisation of academic work.

Vadim's position, however, could be influenced both by personal disposition and the type of highly codified knowledge he works with (Ackers & Gill 2008). For most it is more accurate to describe the use of ICTs as supplementary; as a virtual form of mobility which enables the participation in international professional communities. Yiannis's earlier comment about his communication over the internet with a 'colleague' in Greece illustrate the ways in which ICTs can foster a close sense of professional community in spite of distance and national boundaries. For Carlota, at a later stage in her career, email was clearly a way to continue collaborations with contacts made in the past during this current period of relative immobility: 'with an email and all that it's easy to'. ICTs can enable not only communication but collaboration to occur at a distance. Lucy, for example, spoke of a colleague in Istanbul whom 'I work with online'.

There was a distinct difference in the degree and nature of localisation between the respondents based on the type of institution in which they were located. There are a small number of institutions, for example Oxbridge in the UK and the Ivy League in the USA which constitute an elite global 'super-league' (Marginson 2007a). Association with such institutions can lend, as in Fabian's case, a strong international dimension to an academic's profile. However, the two institutions relevant to this study are probably far more representative of the English sector in general. Reflecting Toyoshima's (2007) findings on internationalisation policy in English universities, the research-intensive Russell Group Daleside University explicitly encouraged international activity and collaborations, whilst the post-92 Peakside University's orientation to its own region and focus on teaching appeared to militate against certain types of international research activity. For example, Italian health sociologist Luca, based in post-1992 Peakside University, reported that his connections, fieldwork and conference attendance had been 'clearly and predominantly local', although there had been recent encouragement from his institution to bid for European contracts. In a more practical sense, Italian Giulia from the same post-1992 institution spoke of the difficulty of maintaining a research profile, or even participating in seminars at other local institutions, simply due to the demands of the teaching load at her university. This has clear implications not just for international activity but establishing a profile appropriate for career mobility:

> Time is a big issue, […] not having time to go to research seminars, you know, whether that's here or whether that's [another local university] during the semester, […] I probably can count on sort of one, you know, one hand, maybe just about two hands how many research seminars I've been to […] since I've been here. So, and that sort of means you don't sort of maintain contact with some people who might be quite near around, [and a lot of] big research collaboration[s] are just little ideas of doing something or planning something [which come] out of having meetings with people and actually talking about the work [...] so teaching has been so absorbing that, that sort of time, both time and for head space in a way because those things have fallen off the wagon a little bit.

Some respondents from Russell Group institution Daleside University also reported limited or proscribed international profiles, giving a variety of reasons. On the one hand, Vadim's seniority and career history gave him a large number of international connections; nevertheless he chose to limit his mobility to within the UK: 'for collaborations as such I don't usually travel. I can't imagine when I did it last time. [...] Well, the last travel I did was to Warwick; that was a day trip'. Vadim's comments indicate that there is a corollary to the concept of mobility capital (i.e. 'motility', Flamm & Kaufmann 2006), which is the freedom to choose *immobility*. On the other hand, Venezuelan psychologist Carlota would have liked to travel to meet with colleagues in her international network. However, her mobility was for the time being proscribed by childcare responsibilities, highlighting the significance of life stage in mobility decisions. She reported that she was 'keeping a low profile with travelling [...], it's more of a problem for me. [...] In four years it should be alright'.

On the whole, then, some degree of localisation of academic work should be expected of non-UK citizen academics (or indeed academics of any nationality entering the English system from abroad), if for no other reason than their immediate workplace contexts will contribute to the shape of opportunities for international activity. At the same time, academics arriving in England at a later stage in their careers, when they have already established international profiles, can be expected to bring with them access to international networks that others might be able to draw upon. Those networks will reflect biographies of mobility and institutional associations; networks are likely to have endured over time regardless of the career stage at which they were established; and academics entering from prestigious institutions and/or more globally central national systems are likely to have better quality and richer networks.

Non-UK citizen academics who had begun and built their careers in England fall between two broadly identifiable poles. At one extreme are those who graduated from an internationally prestigious, elite English institution and who moved on to the Russell Group university and have been able to capitalise on, maintain and develop their international networks. At the other extreme are those who began their careers in less prestigious institutions with more limited international activity who had gone on to work in similar institutions which perhaps valorise and enable international activity of different types to a lesser degree. Somewhere along this continuum sit people such as Harry, building a career in England in a field which demands particularly localised activity, who yet retains international links that could in future lift him out of these geographies.

Teaching

The discussion herein has focused on the international activities of academic work, with internationalisation understood more or less literally as forms of border crossing. However, in understanding the value that non-citizens add it is important to look also at how they precipitate pedagogical and cultural changes in their departments and institutions. Although dominant in research positions, data also shows a significant number of non-citizen staff in the UK take on teaching responsibilities (Fenton, Modood & Smetherham 2011; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010; chapter three in this thesis). There is evidence that language and cultural issues can be problematic for both international staff and institutions when it comes to teaching, largely because these practices are relatively localised and culturally specific compared to research (Alberts 2008; Green & Myatt 2011; Luxon & Peelo 2009; Pherali 2011). Moreover, work has tended to focus on the interactions between native English-speaking western academics and international students at home (Peelo & Luxon 2007; Robson & Turner 2007) or on off-shore programmes (Debowski 2003; Dunn & Wallace 2004, 2006; Smith 2009, 2012).

Only a relatively small, though growing, body of work has addressed the experiences and practices of international staff as teachers in the UK or other western academic systems, yet international staff backgrounds can be a distinct asset in internationalising students' experiences (Locke & Bennion 2010; Luxon & Peelo 2009). This is particularly significant given the high priority placed upon this in university strategies (Egron-Polak & Hudson 2010). Interestingly, although both universities examined for this thesis emphasised an international dimension to their teaching and curricula, only Peakside University had a well-established programme to systematically implement it. However, at the same time, the role of international staff was not particularly visible in these strategies. This speaks to the importance of recognising the different orientations of institutions in exploring their international activities; for example, in general, staff in post-1992 institutions are far more likely to have a teaching focus to their work which can be defining in terms of the ways their careers progress (Gale 2011).

It is no surprise than, that teaching did not emerge as a core concern overall amongst the interviewees, or that in the one cases in it came up it was in relation to post-1992 Peakside University.[108] Of course, many interviewees spoke of teaching, but in general it was in the context of career building and there was no implication that 'foreignness' was an issue in either a positive or negative way. However, the fact that teaching was problematic insofar as it detracted from research

[108] In contrast, when asked to comment explicitly on the degree to which their own professional profiles corresponded to their perception of institutional internationalisation agendas, none of the respondents from Russell Group Daleside University mentioned teaching.

was noted by almost all respondents from Peakside University, though Dutch historian Max from Daleside University reported that, even though he enjoyed teaching, it nevertheless tended to 'crowd out thinking about anything else'.

Only Dimitra from Peakside University spoke of the ways in which her non-UK (Greek) background had at times both been problematic or an advantage. She saw herself in some ways as bridging the Greek and British academic cultures, and of herself as more broadly cosmopolitan. Significantly, when asked about her understanding of internationalisation, her interpretation was very teaching-focussed: 'internationalisation must be two ways, I believe […], it's probably going to be not only bringing international students in […] but apply that within the curriculum, and that's a difficult one.' Of her own teaching on courses related to clinical practice in health she specifically mentioned how she was introducing the notion of cultural differences. However, Dimitra also mentioned the challenges of culturally and linguistically reorienting herself to her UK context:

> Sometimes some people may be aware of our cultural differences and some others not, and […] sometimes I'm trying to understand English culture as well so I can respond in a different way because I think sometimes I can be seen a little bit in your face which I'm trying not to do now.

Conclusion

The macro-patterns of academic mobility are well recorded (this thesis chapter four; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010; Universities UK 2007; Welch 2008): there is both a regional orientation to much academic mobility, with a tendency for academics from all over the globe to head for the USA. Within these circuits the UK and specifically England remains a key node as do, within England, particular centres and academics. These key nodes have an important role in career development and in building internationally distributed network capital in individuals, which in turn can be captured and exploited by recruiting institutions. However, the interviews provide some degree of support to other research which has shown that there is no simple correlation between citizenship and international activity (Locke & Bennion 2010), in spite of the conflation of 'foreignness' with 'internationality'. Understanding the distinction between the two, the many factors which shape an academic's geographies of practice, and the complex patterns of international academic activity is crucial to framing the debate on the value of internationalisation of human resources in English higher education institutions.

Ultimately, the value-added of non-local staff is predicated to no small extent on the assumption that they are more internationally networked than their local colleagues. This assumption, however, ignores the many factors which mitigate the distinction and advantages international staff are

purported to bring. For one thing, academic careers are in any case highly international, to the extent that it is difficult to imagine an academic career without a significant international dimension of some kind. Furthermore, travel and ICTs very much facilitate the participation of ostensibly immobile staff in international activities which may require either little or no cross-border travel, or multiple short trips that would not be picked up by conventional metrics. Equally important is the fact that the English sector remains to a large extent a magnet for academics from elsewhere.

Equally importantly, the 'expectation of mobility' (Ackers & Gill 2008), as well as discourses of internationalisation, drive international activity of many kinds. Some academics undertake long-term, migration-like mobility to new countries whilst others merely move institutions or cities, travel abroad professionally for only a day or so at a time, or exploit ICTs and virtual modes of travel. At the same time, academics change jobs and institutions, progress in their careers, and change their interests. Their networks and relationships begin, grow, and evolve in enduring ways which are inscribed on their professional biographies. Each academic is strongly or weakly connected to many other potentially productive relationships through immediate and secondary relationships in multiple networks. Finally, the international is just one of the scales at which the networks and mobility practices of academics are located and which include also the institutional, regional and global.

For the non-UK citizen interviewees, relationship and network capital were established in a number of ways. Encounters with key academic nodes occurred in the UK, in countries of origin or a third country; they also occurred at various stages of a career, although the access they provided to elite transnational circuits of academic mobility appears to have been of most benefit to those in earlier stages. The benefits of connections to key nodes lie in the network capital carried in individuals associated with those nodes. The centrality of a geographical site or a department is contingent upon retaining adequate capital in the form of key academics who can pass on that capital to others. Hence in some cases the departure of a single senior figure can lead others to move on; in other cases, the loss is mitigated by the capital of colleagues who remain.

Geographies of professional activity of non-UK citizen academics, then, in many cases display a clear *orientation* to countries of origin, although the degree to which this orientation is realised in terms of professional activity, and the nature of those activities, is varied. Those with earlier career experiences in their countries of origin tended, perhaps unsurprisingly, to maintain professional relationships from those phases at least to some extent, though not necessarily with ongoing productive outcomes. Earlier career academics who had little or no professional associations with their home countries, on the other hand, tended to be actively seeking to establish such links,

translating personal relationships into professional collaborations, or even exploiting professional activities to make personal return visits.

Ultimately, there exists a tension in the valorisation of internationalising academic staffing in higher education institutions, which is that as academic work internationalises so the value of being an international academic diminishes. Whilst this chapter would certainly not argue that there is *no* added value to hosting international academics in the English higher education system, it must be evaluated in the broader context of academic activity in general, different modes of cross-border communication and relationship building, and the unique career and mobility geographies of academics themselves; both UK and non-UK citizens.

Chapter 10. Conclusions

This thesis has explored the practices and experiences of non-UK citizen academics from a variety of backgrounds, in a variety of fields and at a variety of career stages in English higher education institutions. It has sought to understand the implications of the international mobility practices of this population for the understanding of England's place in a transnational labour market for academics and researchers, and on the careers of the academics themselves. Six core sets of findings will be outlined in this chapter, which can be briefly stated as follows:

1. England (and the UK more broadly) and a small number of other countries, including prominently the USA, occupy privileged places in flows of internationally mobile academics. Open recruitment practices, the large number of postgraduate and early career opportunities, and linguistic and cultural as well as historical legacies lend England a real and imagined status in the competition for mobile academics. England is integrated regionally and globally based on an overall comprehensiveness of the types and fields of opportunities, but also in terms of specific and emerging fields. Whilst there is evidence of regional and globally distributed flows (e.g. associated with former colonial and/or English language systems), it appears that the most significant flows are grounded in a smaller number of exchanges with particular systems which exhibit particular characteristics.
2. Whilst there is a degree to which the English System appears to be magnetic, this attraction is in fact highly differentiated according to institution, discipline, career stage, and other features. Importantly, there is a concentration of non-citizen academics in and around London. To some extent this can be explained by the size of the sector in London and its adjacent regions and, importantly, the prestige of a small number of institutions there. However, even accounting for this, the clustering of non-citizens is disproportionate. This suggests that the characteristics of place more generally play a role, which may be particularly significant for more peripheral institutions.
3. Academics practice their (international and national) mobility across the career and life course in order to acquire and deploy capital as they advance. However, mobility must be seen in the context of its counterpoint, immobility, and in the context of careers in which the choice to move or not is an expression of agency. Whilst some academics, particularly when younger, are able to negotiate locational insecurity and short-term contracts in order to build capital and move upwards (or at least laterally) through reputational hierarchies, others trade in their capital for secure positions in less prestigious institutions or exit academia altogether.

4. Mobility or immobility choices are strongly determined by whole life contexts, as alluded to in the previous point. At certain life stages, academics, their institutions and wider social and cultural geographies become more 'sticky'; for example, when children are born or at school or when partners are attached to particular places. At the same time, places may be particularly magnetic due to personal, family or other extra-professional factors at specific points in the life course. For example, as parents grow old or become sick, a move to be close to them may be stimulated.
5. Non-citizen academics, through their mobility, may internationalise a host institution in a number of ways. These ways include border-spanning professional networks and active collaborations, or in bringing new perspectives to curricula and teaching. Moreover, the geographies of those activities will reflect the distribution of an academic field, previous mobility and institutional associations, and even in some cases an active or desired home-facing orientation. However, over time, and particularly if an individual entered the English academic labour market through UK-based study, there may be little cross-border activity that can be attributed to the foreign origins of an international academic.
6. These findings are contingent, and do not unproblematically reflect the range of experiences and practices reported in the research. Caution should therefore be exercised in generalising the findings beyond the cases explored in the sample. Nevertheless, the conclusions represent not only the outcomes of an analysis of qualitative interviews, but of an extensive analysis of a set of data on the staffing of English higher education institutions, and an engagement with a broad literature.

Before exploring these core findings in depth, however, this final chapter first revisits the original purpose of the study, recapping the contexts which framed it and restating the questions it addressed. Secondly it presents the findings in two sections. The first set of findings is a summary of each of the six empirical chapters; the second synthesises some key elements of these findings and presents some broader conclusions which address the overall process of international mobility as practised by the respondents. The chapter concludes with some implications for academics and policy makers, and a few ideas for possibly fruitful further study.

Recapping the importance of the field

This project began with some observations of a number of trends at various global, national and institutional scales which have come to shape the cross-border practices of academics and researchers as they conduct their careers and everyday work. These observations included that,

firstly, in the overall context of a trend towards a globalised knowledge-based economy, national higher education sectors and their institutions are playing an increasingly important role in innovation, development and competition at local, national and regional scales. Importantly, a core component of these strategies is the production and attraction of skilled human resources, and academics and researchers in particular.

Secondly, the increasing role of international markets for academic services and the global field in which institutions operate have come to shape the hierarchies of reputation and resources that bound the strategic options of institutions and their governments. Again, the quest for world class status by states, and of position in rankings by institutions, depends in part on the presence of non-citizen, internationally mobile staff. Non-citizen academics are in this sense taken as a proxy for excellence. At a systemic level, the fact that almost one quarter of the English academic workforce is made up of citizens of other countries is seen as evidence of a thriving research base which exerts a powerful magnetic pull on academics and researchers the world over. At institutional level, rankings systems such as those of the THE and Thompson Reuters explicitly reward institutions for the presence of non-citizen students and academics.

Thirdly, and closely related to these phenomena, is the fact of international mobility and other forms of border crossing which have traditionally characterised academic careers. These forms of mobility have always existed, though they have become increasingly valorised and prioritised in policy and discourses around academic work. Mobility here is multifaceted: it occurs between jobs as academics move between institutions and countries to build their careers; it occurs within jobs in the form of long-term exchanges and short-term visits for many different reasons; and it occurs in many other forms – many virtual – and with many other purposes and outcomes between these two poles. The mobility and cross-border connectivity of academics within their disciplinary communities is at once a natural feature of academic life and also evidence of the intellectual, social and cultural capital of an individual.

Tracking and making sense of the movement of academics and researchers across national borders as part of a war for talent between institutions and systems is therefore crucial. England in particular is revealed by various sources of data to play a key role in the circuits of mobility through which academics move. This is true in a general sense that the UK and the English higher education sector is globally prominent, but also in ways which are strongly shaped by disciplines, institutions and geographies.

Recapping the research objectives

This research project is located in the space at which these three contexts intersect. It set out to explore the international mobility practices and experiences of non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education sector, and represents a small part (and in a limited way also an extension) of a wider research project into the internationalisation of staffing which was conducted in a single institution in the north of England. The PhD study proposed to use the empirical data gathered in the umbrella project to illuminate the role of international mobility in academic careers and day to day academic work. In addition, it was intended that the study would help place the UK in cross-border flows of academics. The following three broad sets of questions were articulated to structure the research:

1. *How do non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education system practise mobility (internationally and inter-institutionally)?*
2. *How do non-UK citizen academics in the English higher education system experience mobility?*
3. *What can these practices and experiences tell us about the English sector (and specific locations and institutions) in an international context?*

The project set out to answer these questions in two ways: the first was through an analysis of academic staff at English higher education institutions through data obtained from HESA covering the period 2004-05 to 2008-09.[109] The second was through a series of interviews with a sample of non-UK citizen academics in two institutions. Due to the exploratory nature of the approach to data collection, the questions were fairly open and allowed respondents to take the lead in identifying key issues of importance to them. Nevertheless, a set of themes guided the interviewers towards areas that previous literature had revealed to be significant and which included, for example, the importance of place, institution and discipline in determining the geographies of mobility; the significance of professional and personal or family factors across the career or life course in the timings of mobility; and the engagement of internationally mobile academics with the internationalisation strategies of their institutions and of England and the UK more widely.

[109] This data set is now several years old and it would be interesting to see how the trends identified have developed. However, trends and patterns on this scale may be fairly slow to change. Moreover, it is perhaps too early to evaluate the impact of the changes to the UK's visa regime made in the last few years on the circulation of academics into and through the English higher education sector.

Findings 1: answering the core questions of the thesis

Each of the original research chapters of this thesis was designed to address one or more of the core questions articulated in the introduction. To a large extent the answers to these questions, and others, address only limited dimensions of a large and complex set of processes which are not easily disaggregated. In the following section, then, the findings will be integrated to generate a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of international academic mobility as a whole. First, in this section, the findings of each chapter will be reviewed in the light of the core questions.

Chapter four presented a descriptive analysis of a set of HESA data on academic staffing in English higher education institutions from 2004-05 to 2008-09. It looked in particular at where non-UK staff originated, where they headed within the English system, and who they were in terms of discipline, career stage and other characteristics. The findings of this chapter informed the answers to all the questions as well as the findings of subsequent chapters. The first observation made about the data was that the growth in the English sector had led to a growth in the number of academic posts over the period; and that these posts had been filled disproportionately by non-citizen academics.

Moreover, incoming academics were found to be increasingly drawn from Europe rather than elsewhere, reflecting the impact of European free movement and related policies[110] and greater barriers to entry for those from other countries. These observations suggest that the English academic sector is becoming more integrated in regional European circuits of mobility although, emphasising the importance of exploring countries of origin, it remains embedded in other flows shaped by global, historical and linguistic factors.

Geographies of country of origin also point to the depth or systematisation of flows. For example, whilst Greek and Irish academics are not the largest national groups in the English sector, they represent large proportions of academics relative to the size of the sectors in their home countries. In contrast, the high number of German academics revealed by the data represents a much smaller loss to the German system given its size. A further point to keep in mind is that there is in many cases a disciplinary dimension to these national flows, with Chinese citizens represented mainly in natural science disciplines and possibly reflecting both language issues and educational priorities at home in China.

Chapter four also mapped the distribution of non-citizen academics within England by geography. It found that there was a clear concentration of non-citizen academics in London and neighbouring regions which, arguably, more than reflects the magnetic effect of the region's institutions, or even

[110] Policies around, for example, the Bologna Process, the European Research Area and the European Higher Education Area.

the distribution of early career research positions. It was suggested that this phenomenon is suggestive of a 'critical mass' of early career and other opportunities within the higher education and other sectors, which together with lifestyle factors make London and its surrounding regions an escalator site and bestows advantages on institutions therein.

Two final points from chapter four are notable. The first is that the data shows the importance of exploring the way incoming staff enter and fit into the sector. Confirming findings of other research (Bekhradnia & Sastry 2005; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010), analysis found that there is a large labour market for early career, temporary positions often filled by non-citizens entering from research student positions, and emphasising the importance of the English sector as a supplier of this kind of career building position. The second point is that, although patchy, the coverage of the data is improving and suggests that there is a good deal of mobility of non-citizen academics within the English sector. However, whilst the data also suggests that non-citizens are more likely to leave the country and go elsewhere, it cannot distinguish between those engaged in formally channelled mobility such as fellowships and other forms of self-directed migratory behaviour.[111] This is an additional difficulty in assessing the nature of outflows from the sector to overseas.

Chapter five directly answers the first questions, exploring the reasons the non-UK citizen academics in the sample initially left their home countries and became internationally mobile. Whilst interviewees' reports reinforced the significance of taking home contexts into account, this was not a straightforward question of identifying and evaluating 'push' factors, but rather taking a whole life view and identifying not only the factors that led to a disposition to mobility but also the triggers of the mobility itself. In fact, a variety of practices and experiences which had led to the initial outward mobility were revealed; these included personal histories and peer group cultures and, in some cases, romantic relationships. Furthermore, important factors in shaping the timings and directions of mobility included personal and academic networks, ICTs and commercial educational agencies.

To the extent that professional considerations played a role in many accounts, nationally-specific traditions and practices in academic careers, particularly at early stages, were reported. In countries such as Germany a powerful imperative to gain international experience was evident, whilst in countries such as Greece or Italy there was a lack of access to quality education and work opportunities due to both systemic features and cultural norms which tie opportunities to personal connections. Whilst issues of access were a dominant theme in early careers, it also emerged in at least one case, German physicist Dominik, as a continuing factor well into mid-career. In some cases,

[111] Some features of HESA returns are discretionary according to individual institutional practices and therefore can be inconsistent. As a rule, however, staff are returned in the data if they are on a contract on a particular date.

the location of a home system in discipline-specific geographies and their infrastructures demanded mobility in order to pursue quality work wherever it was taking place; this was the case for bioscientist Ingrid from Denmark.

Whilst the initial episodes of mobility reported by most respondents were quite driven by instrumental career or educational considerations, they were nevertheless influenced to varying degrees by a number of non-professional factors. At one extreme was American bioscientist Madeline, whose mobility decision was made solely for romantic reasons; in most cases personal dispositions, perhaps stimulated by earlier mobility experiences or peer-group practices, led to a desire for experience abroad. This, and the gateway function of the English language, is likely evidence that internationally mobile academics (from some countries at least) are members of relatively privileged, if not elite, segments of their home societies. There is also an important point here about the timing of initial mobility at educational and early career stages when individuals are relatively unencumbered by relationships, caring or other responsibilities.

A final point emerging from chapter five which is worth reiterating here is the role of channels and triggers in initial mobility. It has been established that networks, and particularly those of academic mentors such as doctoral supervisors, enable and even promote mobility. Beyond the basic fact of making mobility possible in the first place, as a number of respondents reported, this social capital is particularly important in determining the direction rather than the timing of mobility. However, supervisors and networks were not the only sources of information that respondents reported having drawn on; modern communication technologies and in particular the internet were reported to be valuable resources in the search for opportunities and in bringing students and academics into a cross-border pool of potential academic labour even when they lacked the social capital that would in the past have been a prerequisite.

Chapter six addressed the second set of questions, firstly exploring the reasons why the respondents had chosen England over other possible destinations for their mobility.[112] A key finding here concerns the extent to which respondents had *actively* and *consciously* chosen England and how far England occupied a place in the landscapes of their potential mobility which made it a 'natural' choice. For one thing, interviews with respondents from a variety of national backgrounds illuminated the ways in which England is an important node in academic mobility systems at different scales and of different types. In short, England was found to enjoy a degree of visibility in individuals' landscapes of potential destinations which was shared by only a small number of other places such as the USA and other English-speaking countries, as well as France and Germany. This

[112] It is worth reiterating here that the distinction between 'the UK and 'England' was at times unclear in the accounts provided by the respondents.

visibility can be attributed to legacy factors such as the English language and culture in former colonial states, broader economic and soft power factors in the context of contemporary globalisation, and integration in regional European higher education and innovation systems.

At the same time, the large number of educational and early career opportunities emerged both implicitly and explicitly as a key attraction of England. The large and comprehensive English higher education system means not just that the number of opportunities is large, but so also is the variety. Moreover, to the extent that there are discipline-specific considerations which become more important as the early career phase begins, England (and the UK) occupies a place in specialised fields in some cases, and emerging fields in others. At this level, general systemic attractions give way to more specific disciplinary, institutional, departmental or individual attractions and reputational factors. The place of English academia as a gateway to European and other disciplinary geographies was noted explicitly in a few cases and alluded to in several others.

Students and early career academics considering mobility are, therefore, in many cases predisposed to see England as a possible destination. In more a more concrete way, academics at these life and career stages are channelled into the English higher education sector in a variety of ways. Networks of family and friends, or academic mentors already in or engaged with England provide an obvious channel. This also indicates the recursive relationship between English higher education, current or former international academics, and ongoing and future links. The peer group and social factors reported in chapter five also play a role in determining directions of flows, with patterns of outward mobility to the UK being well established and in some cases (at the tertiary student stage) facilitated by commercial agents. Similarly, the access to opportunities enabled by ICTs by definition will include England, particularly given its very open academic labour market. Finally, a few respondents reported earlier experience of England which disposed them to return. Importantly, the combination of personal preparedness (social or psychological) and opportunities indicates the role of chance in the directions mobility took for the respondents.

Other personal and social factors emerged as important, primarily so in some cases. As noted already, the dominance of student and early career mobility amongst the sample emphasises the role of mobility early on. Later, partnering, children and other family consideration emerge to shape destination decisions. For example, linking the personal with the professional in some cases, the large number of opportunities in the English academic labour market is a draw for dual career couples. Other respondents indicated the role of England as something of a compromise location, being both geographically proximate to family elsewhere in Europe, and linguistically and culturally familiar to partners. These linguistic factors, in fact, have a broader impact in that English is a

common first or second language around the world; cultural familiarity was reported in several cases with the caveat that it was assumed based on similarities with other English-speaking destinations.

Ultimately, the respondents reported that England, whilst exhibiting both professional and other attractions, enjoyed a relative advantage over alternative destinations when multiple factors were taken into account. Clearly the openness of the English higher education sector and the many good quality educational and early career opportunities were a key draw; nevertheless in a competitive global context many historical, linguistic, cultural and geographical considerations swayed decisions. Whilst visa and immigration regimes might be increasingly a factor in shaping destination decisions for those entering from outside the European Union, this was not commented upon at the time the interviews were conducted.

Chapter seven contributed to the answering of the fourth set of questions, placing the mobility practices of the respondents in broader life and career, as well as systems, contexts by exploring their future mobility plans. Whilst recent work on migration and mobility has emphasised the unfinished nature of mobility projects across the life course, and work on higher education has emphasised the geographically footloose nature of careers, this chapter found in several cases a sense that migration was 'finished', for reasons that will be discussed below. Nevertheless, most were open to varying degrees to the possibility of future mobility, and discussed the factors that would determine it and the directions it would take. In contrast to early career mobility, there was a much stronger role for family and personal factors. For one thing, geographies of future mobility tended to be spoken of in terms of home and, with timing tied very much to the presence of children and their need for stability at particular life stages. Many also spoke of the wider social and political contexts at home as being disincentives to return.

Those who were younger and at earlier career stages reported considerations which were more often largely professional. This group was also much more open to third country destinations, and particularly the USA. This pointed strongly to the importance of mobility in career building at early stages, but also to the ways in which the lack of strong place-bound ties enabled these kinds of strategic moves. For those with a professional home-facing orientation to future moves, an important factor was the nature of the academic systems at home. This was true in the sense that respondents expressed a concern that they lacked the social capital to access quality positions, but also in that those quality positions may not exist in any case. Professional factors affected possible mobility within as well as out of English academia and the UK, with some respondents from the teaching-focused institution worrying that they would not be able to make further moves worthwhile in career terms because they had not been able to engage in sufficient research to build their own profiles and reputations.

As a counterpoint to future plans for mobility, chapter eight discussed the ways in which the respondents had embedded in England and their institutions both professionally and otherwise. The chapter concluded that there were different ways in which individuals could become attached to place, with place being understood not only in terms of different territorial scales but also as distributed networks and communities. The chapter therefore began by making a distinction between anchoring, emplacement and embedding to reflect these differences.

Attachment was found to have a professional dimension which was determined in different ways by career and life stage. For example, entry to the English higher education sector in the degree or early career phase created the possibility for formative experiences which could, over time, ground a career in at least three ways: the reputation of a prestigious institution could be seen as instrumental in facilitating embedding in elite networks internationally; conversely, a less prestigious, less research-active institution could be a handicap to onward mobility and constitute a form of anchoring or 'locking in' to particular institutions or segments of the sector; finally, in other cases, professional emplacement was demanded by local or regional fieldwork and outreach activities. Overall, in a professional sense, these forms of early career locating seemed to amount to a kind of localisation of professional activities; something explored in more depth in chapter nine.

Although these professional dimensions were important, very strong personal and life course effects were again reported. For one thing, younger academics spoke in many cases of forming romantic and other social and cultural attachments during their initial stays. This points to the openness of younger people to new relationships, the flexibility of identities, and the possibility of becoming embedded in place. In contrast, older respondents revealed the significance of established relationships, including partnerships, children and parents, as well as formal professional and other factors such as contracts and mortgages as *anchors* at particular life stages.

Ultimately, the chapter illuminated the negotiations between mobility and immobility that characterise both career and life courses. Mobility can be a strategy to build career capital, and this capital can be exchanged for immobility and security at particular points in the life course. This will be discussed below. A second and related finding is the centrality in many cases of personal and social factors in determining the timings and modes of attachment. A third important finding concerns the ways in which non-citizen academics embed at different scales and in different professional ways into English institutions, academic fields, the higher education sector in general, and segments of its hierarchy.

The preceding chapters, and in particular chapter eight, examined the ways in which non-citizen academics entered, moved through and exited, and became embedded in the English higher

education sector; they also explored the implications of this mobility for the understanding of the place of England in an international perspective. Chapter nine looked at the ways in which non-citizens exhibited an international dimension to their work and whether that was retained from earlier career stages (and therefore perhaps a quality acquired through international mobility) or established whilst in England.

A key finding of chapter nine was that the geographies of international activity were only partially shaped by national origins. There was certainly a home-facing orientation to the international activities, both aspired to and actual, that were reported. Respondents spoke of the ways in which they integrated their work and personal agendas in strategic ways. For some, forging links to home was a step to possible future return; for others, relationships with friends at home which predated mobility were explored to find opportunities for collaboration. In at least one other case, professional travel was used to maintain regular contact with family overseas. The nature and the geographies of international activity were, therefore, in many cases strongly biographical.

Another finding was that institutional affiliations could play a key role in shaping the international orientation of individual academics. For example, those who had undertaken research degrees in England before beginning their careers here tended to have international profiles reflecting their associations with the awarding institutions. Those associated from early career with elite institutions therefore retained networks which were both elite and globally distributed; those from less prestigious backgrounds had fewer international links. Others, whose careers had begun outside the UK and in particular in elite institutions, illustrated the ways in which academics carry their networks with them from those early stages, and also the ways in which diasporic mobility of peer groups out of those institutions can shape the geographies of networks and activities later in life. Disciplinary factors as well as the location of fieldwork and cross-sectoral engagement also played a role, with those working in more locally grounded fields having similarly less internationalised profiles.

However, internationalisation and mobility are not synonymous, and several factors were reported which obviated the need to travel in the pursuit of international activity. For one thing, respondents spoke of how seniority and reputation a particular field could result in individuals being destinations in themselves for other mobile academics. ICTs again have a role, in some cases in establishing or maintaining relationships also conducted face to face. For one respondent at least, however, ICTs had replaced other modes of communication altogether. Most significantly, the role of conferences, hosted in England yet international nonetheless, was commonly reported as a way of establishing and renewing networks. This reflects the role of England as a central node in internationally distributed fields and higher education more generally.

Two final points about chapter nine should be made. The first is that, as in other chapters, the role of life course and, in particular, family responsibilities were found in some cases to inhibit international activity, particularly mobility, and therefore preclude some of the activities that are useful in career building. The second is that, for the most part, international activity and internationalisation were considered exclusively in terms of research and publishing activity. Interestingly, the only respondent who spoke of teaching and curricula issues was from the post-1992 institution. This is significant in that it points to the conceptual and practical breadth of internationalisation and the ways in which it is frequently understood differently by academics, institutions and other stakeholders.

Findings 2: an original contribution to knowledge

The findings of the individual chapters, and the specific questions each one addressed, have been outlined above. However, bringing the findings together points to a number of other, overarching, conclusions. Specifically, these address the place of the English higher education sector in international flows of academics; the relationship between place, mobility and academic careers; the importance of taking a whole life perspective when exploring academic career mobility; and the role of internationally mobile academics in internationalising England's higher education institutions and sector.

Locating England and its institutions in international flows of academics

The analysis of the data supplied by HESA supported and advanced earlier research. For one thing, as Mahroum has argued, the characteristics of particular national innovation systems need to be taken into account in understanding flows of researchers in particular, as do the qualities of the receiving institutions and departments (Mahroum 1999b, 2001). Moreover, as Metcalf *et al*. (2005) and Bekhradnia and Sastry (2005) found, there has been an overall rise in the number of academics in the English higher education labour market, who have been drawn increasingly from overseas. The same non-citizen population also account for a disproportionate degree of both inbound and outbound mobility (Bekhradnia & Sastry 2005). There is also a strong link, supported by the interviews, between the markets for international students at postgraduate and research level and early career stages (Metcalf et al. 2005). Finally, earlier research which identified or focused on specific segments of the academic labour market proposed that there were differences in the nature of international staffing and mobility according to the institutional prestige, the funding and duration of research only contracts, and discipline-specific shortages in the labour market (Fenton, Modood & Smetherham 2011; Smetherham, Fenton & Modood 2010).

In addition, this thesis addressed specifically geographical issues. Through both the analysis of HESA data and qualitative interviews it explored the links between country-specific higher education career contexts and transnational circuits of mobility. Analysis pointed to the importance of acknowledging country-specific factors in disaggregating flows in multiple ways. Firstly, countries of origin were found to exhibit specific problems of accessing and advancing in academic careers, which in some cases included the expectation of time spent working in another country. Secondly, geographies of established and emerging fields, in terms of both infrastructure and expertise, were found to be distributed unevenly across countries, with the size and breadth of the UK's system providing opportunities in many fields. Thirdly, exerting an apparently strong influence on flows into England (and the UK) was its integration in European and other flows, with an apparently strong global profile based on historical and linguistic, as well as contemporary economic and soft power, factors.

An important contribution of the thesis to understanding the place of England in international circuits of mobility is in the mapping of incoming international academics onto institutions according to their locations within England. The data reveals a pronounced clustering of non-citizen academics in London and its surrounding regions in ways that suggest not only the magnetism of a small number of prestigious institutions, but a critical mass of professional and other opportunities more generally. In some ways it supports an argument that London and the South East is a career 'escalator'(Fielding 1992); a site at which professional capital can be acquired in early career before moving on elsewhere.

However, conclusions about the role of specific geographies within the UK based on the data were not explicitly supported by the interviews. This may be for several reasons. For example, the large proportion of interviewees who entered the English higher education system as students points to the importance of the cost of living, existing networks and relationships, agencies and opportunities for funding in location decisions. A second possibility, for which there is some evidence in the interviews, is that England and the UK, or even English-speaking destinations more generally, are seen as somewhat undifferentiated; in other words, geographical destinations are not so significant, particularly relative to an institution, its reputation and specialisms and the opportunities that it offers. In other words, although at least two of the interviewees spoke of their sense of place as embedded in the cultures and contexts of their current cities, this is far more likely to be so at national level, in London as a world city, or in a very limited number of institutional contexts, for instance those of Oxford and Cambridge.

In exploring the onward mobility practices and intentions the data was limited, reflecting collection strategies of institutions supplying HESA. In addition, few respondents reported plans or intentions

to move internationally in the near future, if ever. An interesting finding that did emerge here, however, was that those who did speculate tended to have a limited range of possible future destinations in mind, which included the USA, a few European countries, other English-speaking countries, and in most cases the home country. This finding reinforces the observation that there are both regional and global circuits of mobility based on a more or less limited number of systems which are prominent in national and disciplinary hierarchies; it also points to the retention of a home-facing orientation by internationally mobile academics.

However, when speaking of flows or circuits of mobility, statistical sources (including those of HESA) cannot capture repeat moves. The discourses of flows, often evident in more neoliberal work on mobility, which suggest the emergence of globally footloose careers characterised by multiple and frequent moves, can therefore only be anecdotal and speculative. Whilst it may be true for more elite segments of the labour market, the evidence here is of fewer long-term moves, often a single incidence of mobility from country of origin to the UK. In particular, when this move occurs in the student or early career phases, there appears to be a strong likelihood that an individual's career will become localised within the English higher education sector. This does not, of course, preclude other short- or medium-term types of work-related international travel which will be discussed below.

Ultimately the study found the English higher education system to occupy a privileged position in regional and global flows of mobile academics. This position was founded on historical, linguistic, cultural as well as geographical and political factors, but most importantly it was a product of the many and varied opportunities in the higher education labour market available to academics from anywhere on the basis of meritocratic and open competition. The size and depth of flows from particular countries suggests that they are systemic, particularly when these flows constitute significant proportions of the academic labour force of a specific country, such as Greece. In addition, a number of geographical factors relating to the proximity of England to Europe were reported in the interviews to be decisive in both professional and personal location decisions, pointing to a 'gateway' function of location.

However, it is more difficult to argue, based on the evidence, for a view of flows as globalised and territorially 'detached', that is, constitutive of a single emergent world system. Rather, the place of England in an international field of higher education can be seen largely as the outcome of longstanding incidents of bilateral integration between national systems or (as Bauder (2012) has argued) specific parts of those systems. At most, flows appear to be gravitate towards a small number of globally prominent countries, one of which is England (in the broader context of the UK), with a strong regional dimension. Overall, this finding accords with Musselin's (2004) argument that,

at European level, the distinct national characteristics of academic labour markets preclude the emergence of a single system.

The relationship between international mobility, place and academic careers

Mobility plays a complex role in academic careers. On the one hand it is a form of exit from closed systems at home, a way of gaining access to opportunities and resources not available there, or an expectation in early career stages (Ackers & Gill 2008; Avveduto 2001). At the same time, it is not unproblematic and can, for example, lead to the loss of social capital at home or demotion in the receiving country. Certainly many of the interviewees in this study had histories of national or international mobility, and in some cases both. Some spoke explicitly of the importance of mobility in building their careers; either as a conscious strategy to cultivate some kind of 'mobility capital', or simply because opportunities, expertise and resources are distributed across transnational disciplinary fields and contracts tend to be temporary.

What are less well understood are the ways in which the characteristics of specific places can shape mobility practices and the degree to which this is significant. There are several ways in which 'place' can be understood here, some of which have been touched upon already, and these in turn shape how its role is perceived. In a straightforward way, particular national or institutional sites are the locations of opportunities which draw in academics from elsewhere. These places are distributed geographically across the world, including in England and the UK, but also within England by location and institution. For example, England and London in particular are magnetic in general for the reasons discussed above; however, institutions which are located close by one another are also differentially attractive due to opportunities and prestige.

It is proposed here that theories of mobility and capital acquisition in the field of international education (Findlay et al. 2011; Waters 2009a; Waters & Brooks 2011) and migration studies (Erel 2010; Pajo 2008) can be applied and extended to academic careers (as work by Bauder (2012) and Leung (2013) suggests). Moreover, an argument is made for a stronger role for place as mobile subjects acquire and deploy their capital not only relative to their countries of origin but in an internationally distributed field of personal, institutional and systemic prestige. In other words, it is the case not only that mobility builds capital but, in academic careers, so does association with specific sites. Earlier in this thesis work was referred to which traced the careers of new academics and linked job moves to the reputation of the PhD-awarding institution; the more prestigious the awarding institution, the more prestigious the institution of first and subsequent employment (Caplow & McGee 1958). In the context of a transnational field of higher education, institutional prestige is relative to global competitors, and also to national contexts.

Respondents originating in elite institutions overseas were able to access similar status institutions in the UK and appeared to be moving through what Smetherham *et al* (2010) termed the 'elite' labour market. Others reported moving between research-intensive institutions of similar reputation in their immediate postdoctoral phase or, later on, from research-intensive to less prestigious teaching-oriented institutions. Mobility itself, or at least the experience of working in a variety of institutional contexts which presuppose mobility, was explicitly credited as a form of capital in its own right. More commonly, the reputation of an institution, department or individual was reported to be a significant draw beyond the crude fact of the existence of an open position. This points to the strategic use of mobility in some cases to achieve association with particular places that function as career escalators in building cultural and social capital. More broadly, whilst not explicit, the role of England as a site of reputational capital was also noted, commonly insofar as it was relatively more prestigious than most places, though not necessarily the USA.

A corollary of this relationship between mobility, place and career was the fact that academics become 'locked in' to the English sector, a segment of the sector or a particular institution. In some ways this adds a transnational dimension to Strike's (2009) analysis of career paths in UK institutions. For Strike, a variety of linear and 'climbing frame' models of career progress reflect the fragmentation of academic work into its component parts. In teaching-oriented institutions it is difficult for academics to undertake the research activities that are valorised and sought by more prestigious institutions. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that interviewees from the post-1992 institution found the negotiation of mobility and place more difficult: in order to move on to a more prestigious institution they needed more time to undertake research; without the freedom and time afforded by more prestigious pre-1992 institutions, such research would not be easily undertaken.

To sum up, there is a tension between immobility and mobility and the ways in which academics are able to choose one or the other at particular points in their careers. In early career phases, younger and less place-bound academics are able to pursue mobility through numerous prestigious institutions and temporary, research-only positions across borders. In doing so they not only build career capital but are also able to develop a kind of 'employability capital' (Ackers & Gill 2008) that incorporates mobility. However, for most of the interviewees the story was not so straightforward. For one thing, many found that, having spent a good deal of time in a particular place for their doctoral studies, for example, they had even at an early stage become socially and/or romantically attached. In others the destination of a mobility decision was predetermined for similar reasons, again often romantic or family-related. In these cases there was a definite sense that both mobility and immobility could at times be associated with career costs, or even lead to a change of career.

Similarly, the costs of mobility were in some cases measured in sacrificed relationships or the loss of a sense of self in place and the prospect of beginning again somewhere else.

Locating the experiences and practices of mobility in a whole life perspective (life course, family, gender)

The final comments in the previous section point to the importance of locating the mobility and immobility of internationally mobile academics in a whole life context. That is, in very few cases was mobility reported to have been more or less purely a professional undertaking; it was invariably affected or even determined by other factors relating to both life stage and family. In short, the drivers for mobility change over time: early career and educational mobility emerged as driven in most cases by professional and/or instrumental factors; later on, personal and other considerations intrude to determine the possibility of mobility, its timings and its directions.

An interesting insight into the significance of family relates to the ways in which decisions are negotiated. As noted, for some respondents mobility was possible at earlier career stages but with the attendant risk of a breakdown of a romantic relationship. At more mature life stages children and spouses often needed to be taken into account. This could affect the location decisions of dual-career couples in particular, or the timing of mobility for those with children in school. In addition, mobility might be undertaken or ruled out due to the need to be close to parents or extended family. Interestingly, this did not necessarily mean living in the same country: the proximity of England to, for example Ireland, Spain and Italy, enabled those with family in those countries to maintain close relationships.

An important observation that emerges from the study is the clear effect that gender has on stratifying and shaping mobility; and that mobility has in stratifying careers according to gender. These are factors that cut across almost all elements of the discussion. One issue is the role that women continue to play in relationships and families, particularly where children are concerned. That women more than men are inhibited in their mobility and careers was discussed; the effects of this continue and are exacerbated over the career course, as women's relatively less mobile career paths afford them fewer opportunities for generating impact or to accessing promotion (Leemann 2010). In dual career partnerships this reinforces the trailing nature of women's mobility, as the better rewarded partner's career tends to take precedence (Ackers 2004). Not only professional but also social demotion is experienced by trailing spouses, as Cooke's (2007) study of Chinese accompanying dual-career couples found. Cooke suggests that at least part of this situation was the result of specific Chinese cultural norms and practices.

At the same time, the interviews indicated that women, and families more widely, can be central to decision making. The interviewees point to the importance of recognising the ways in which migration decisions are negotiated, and the relative leverage of family members in these decisions. It seems that there is certainly some room for nuance in framing the place of gender at the intersection of relationships, careers and mobility. In Baqer's and other cases more equal decision making was a feature of more mature relationships. Some of the younger female respondents, as already reported, indicated that their careers and their relationships were by necessity both negotiable in ways that were not alluded to by males. This suggests an underlying assumption that women rather than men would be the tied partner if and when mobility occurred.

Ultimately, a constellation of structural, professional, social and personal factors are weighed in mobility decisions, with key triggers such as a job opportunity, a relationship or a family concern functioning as triggers. In any individual case one or a combination of these factors may be decisive. What this points to, significantly, is a consideration of who becomes mobile and why, and what destinations they choose and why. The findings of this study emphasise the negotiated and complex nature of mobility at any particular time for any particular person. The embodied and structural factors that shape mobility trouble easy associations of mobility with excellence and demand a more nuanced approach. This is not to question the competency or skill of mobile academics, but rather to raise awareness of questions of agency and access as well as disposition that inhibit mobility in other cases.

International mobility and the internationalisation of academic work in England

Research which has explored the contribution of international academics to UK institutions, the higher education or the innovation system more generally, have found both greater productivity (BIS 2011) and greater internationalisation of activity (Locke & Bennion 2010) amongst non-citizen than local academics. Research such as this tends to focus on an elite of the academic profession, and also to be quantitative in nature. In contrast, this project explored the practices of a cross-section of academics from less core, less elite institutions and took a qualitative approach. As a result it was able to look in some depth at the geographies of international activity, the types of international activity and the outcomes of international activity of the selected sample. This analysis aimed to extend the understanding of the ways in which internationally mobile, non-citizen academics contributed to their institutions.

The key findings of this element of the project have already been outlined above; it is worth reiterating the key points here, however. Several unsurprising findings were made which confirmed much of what is known of the international activities of non-citizens. For example, a variety of

contributions to both research and teaching were reported, and ICTs and conferences were found to be important to the establishment and maintenance of networks.

Most significant was the finding that those whose careers had begun in England at doctoral phase or earlier appeared to have very localised patterns of activities. In this context, 'localised' does not refer specifically or exclusively to the geographies of activities, although this was a feature of respondents in some fields; rather, to be localised means that international networks and activities have been generated through UK-based practices. To the extent that international dimensions were reported which might reflect the background of particular non-citizens, these tended to be either home-facing (as with future mobility intentions) or based on friendships that pre-dated mobility to England.

This finding can be extended to account for the internationalised practices and networks of respondents who were older, trained overseas or attended more elite institutions. Those who were older had built networks across their careers which reflected different stages in different places. Those trained overseas, in a similar way, remained embedded in networks encompassing those countries and institutions of origin. Those trained at elite institutions were part of networks which encompassed not only those institutions but also the international fields they were part of. Importantly, having a background in an elite institution known for producing academics in particular fields emerged as an important factor in engaging with more extended networks of elites who constituted a kind of diasporic outmigration.

Of course, the international landscapes and activities of the sample were complex and varied according to these and other factors which are impossible to generalise. Personal orientations and the international distribution of reputation, infrastructure, academic fields and fieldwork for example, as well as families and friends, were just a few elements that shaped individuals' internationalisation. Broadly speaking, however, it is evident that mobile academics acquire and embody intellectual, cultural and social capital as they move between institutions and even national contexts; at the same time a process of localisation can occur which in some ways is part of the process of acquisition of capital specific to a particular place. That the place specificity of career capital should be most strongly associated with early career contexts and relationships is not surprising, but it does raise issues about the degree to which a non-citizen appointment might be distinctly different to a local academic in terms of international activities and connections.

Implications of findings for academic work

The research for this thesis was undertaken firstly on a set of staff data for the years 2004-05 to 2008-09 which was obtained from HESA, and secondly through interviews with a sample of 23 academics from a variety of disciplines and national backgrounds, at a variety of career stages, and from two institutions in the North of England; one research-intensive and one teaching-focused. All respondents were found either through their presence on university web pages or through snowballing from other academic contacts. All were in long-term or permanent positions and could be classified as self-directed labour market movers as distinct to those on formal fellowships, sabbatical or other short- to medium-term mobility schemes. The interviews were conducted in a fairly unstructured manner around a number of themes relating to academic mobility.

The open nature of the interviews and the broad and varied sample resulted in a number of findings which in some ways were indicative rather than emphatic; whilst also pointing towards a variety of appropriate scales, based on common experiences, at which analysis could take place. For example, a productive focus on the impacts of life course and whole life contexts was a consequence of the variety of life stages and personal situations which were reported. In addition, a rather macro-level focus on systemic factors was a result of the variety of national backgrounds and disciplines, which also ruled out an explicit disciplinary comparison. Further comparative dimensions which the findings hint at include the difference between UK and non-UK citizen academics' international activities, and the place and impact of different kinds of institution on the careers of internationally mobile academics.

Emerging from these points are some important implications for academic work. The first is that the qualitative approach generated a positive contribution to the understanding of the practices and experiences of mobile academics. In particular, as discussed in the methodology, these individual perspectives in combination with statistical work and an engagement with the literature contributed to the understanding of large-scale structural features of academic flows and internationalised higher education. Furthermore, interrogating the geographical choices of the sample revealed a great deal about the importance of place from both a professional and a personal perspective.

In exploring the relationships between mobility and place specifically, a number of points emerge which speak to the importance of recognising that there are relational and container dimensions to the understanding of space, as Weiss (2005) has argued. To the extent that place is a container, it grounds mobile academics and their practices in particular institutional and territorial settings; to the extent that it is relational, these individuals, their institutions and their national systems are interconnected in networks of relationships and fields of reputation and prestige at multiple scales.

Moving between sites at national and institutional scales involves a re-engagement with contexts which points specifically to the relationality and mutability of individuals and their embodied capital. This resonates with Latour's (1987) notion of higher education institutions as centres of calculation, or DeLanda's (2006) notion of assemblages.

Of course, academic place is not necessarily territorially fixed (as Pietsch has argued (2010a)) even as institutions are. What is important is that seeing place as process demands not a determinist approach but a historicised one, in which the possibility exists for the nature of an institution or place to be transformed over time as the cumulative outcome of, in part, the inward and outward mobility of academics. The counterpoint to this in the study is the illumination of the ways in which capital, and what types of capital, is acquired and deployed through strategic or (more or less) imposed mobility or immobility in the course of a career. The possibility that qualitative approaches could contribute to the understanding of these processes is an important outcome of the thesis.

Implications for policy makers

There are also a number of lessons from this research that could usefully be applied to policy. At a national level this study has found that the engagement of non-citizens with the English academic labour market often begins at postgraduate level or even earlier. This points to the importance, in a competitive global field, of recognising the link between international education trade strategies such as the Prime Minister's Initiatives or more recently Education UK (UKTI 2013) and the supply of international PhDs into early career academic positions. It also points to the importance of putting these strategies in the wider context of the historical legacy of England and the UK, and the contemporary role of the English language. Stimulating and maintaining systemic links, in education and beyond, between countries of origin and England is an important part of any strategy that seeks to foster increasing international activity.

In practice this means resolving the tensions between policies which are designed to dramatically cut immigration figures, and other policies which explicitly or implicitly demand a more or less unfettered flow of students, researchers, academics or other forms of human capital into the UK. In this thesis I have reported on the concerns raised by higher education representative bodies such as Universities UK and the Russell Group that the higher education sector and the wider research system would suffer as a result of the current government's policies. I have also mentioned the experiences of other countries (e.g. Australia) where stricter border controls adversely affected academic flows. Indeed, HESA recently published figures that revealed, for the first time ever, a drop in non-EU citizen students entering the UK in 2012-13 (Morgan 2014).

At institutional level this thesis points to the potential for recruitment strategies to be developed which offer peripheral (geographically or reputationally) institutions a competitive edge and to counter the draw of universities in London and the Golden Triangle and the critical mass of opportunities that can be found in them. For example, it is important to recognise the degree to which family and other non-professional factors determine the circumstances under which some academics are able to undertake mobility and others are not. For instance, early career academics often find themselves negotiating this highly mobile career phase with the demands of relationships and young families. Providing a 'family recruitment package' which accounts for the fact that the partners and children who accompany a new hire also require resettlement, security and stability would add to the competitiveness of an institution in the academic labour market. Such a package would include a long-term or open contract, resettlement grants, and social and administrative support to orient the whole family on arrival.

Family-oriented recruitment could have particularly positive outcomes in terms of gender equity. Women are more likely than men to both sacrifice a relationship or the chance to have children in order to pursue career mobility; and to sacrifice an academic or research career in order to have a family and settle in one place. In addition, taking steps to accommodate dual-career academic couples would also go some way to resolving the issues of the 'trailing spouse' in academia, that is, the tendency for one partner to exit the academic labour market, revise (usually) her career aspirations, or to adopt riskier approaches to work and career.

Moreover, offering the security of teaching-focused contracts with the possibility to pursue research interests would contribute to the retention of promising early career researchers in academia. The primary research in this study showed the difficulties of maintaining a research profile when teaching and administrative loads are heavy. The failure to provide opportunities for PhD graduates to pursue their research interests represents not only a loss to an institution and the sector more widely of a highly trained human resource; it also represents the frustration of stymied careers. This point resonates with the tendency for research funding in England to increasingly concentrate in a small number of research intensive institutions at the expense of a broader research base distributed throughout the sector and including the post-1992 institutions.

There are other important lessons to be learned about the role of doctoral research positions. There is potential for institutions to make better use of international doctoral candidates as they enter early career phases and become independent and innovative researchers.[113] International doctoral

[113] Such strategies would require a move away from the idea that the retention of doctoral candidates into early career stages at the same institution is a form of undesirable 'in-breeding' (Horta 2010), and also

candidates, whilst embedded in the cultures and networks of their institution (and England and the UK), are also likely to retain (or have the potential for) a home-facing orientation in their social and professional networks and ambitions. This is a valuable resource which could benefit not only the individual academic and the less internationalised peers in her immediate networks, but also contribute to the internationalisation of her institution's research profile. Importantly, it may well be a relatively cost effective way of establishing international links.

Finally, the study points to the potential role of international academics as a resource for campus and, in particular, curricular internationalisation. The language skills, intercultural competencies and novel perspectives of the international staff interviewed here did not appear to be held in any particular esteem, let alone put to use. Institutions which aim to instil these kinds of attributes in their students could take steps to formalise and reward the roles that some respondents were already playing informally. These included but were not limited to bringing international perspectives to teaching and curriculum design, and counselling international and non-traditional students from shared outsider positions.

Recommendations for further work

This thesis has explored a number of features of the international mobility practices and experiences of a small number and variety of non-citizen academics. The outcomes are interesting and point to several possibly productive future studies. The first would be to address the intersection of specific disciplinary and national factors in shaping flows from key countries of origin into the English academic labour market. This would allow a more richly contextualised assessment of the possibly systemic flows between England and elsewhere.

A second way forward would be to directly address the contrasts between peripheral institutions and those in the London-Oxbridge centre in order to explore where each sits in flows into and within the English higher education system. An interesting approach would be to contrast the internal mobility practices of a sample of British citizens with those from elsewhere, or to conduct a study which erases the distinction between internal and international mobility altogether. Moreover, a comparative approach to the experiences of non-citizens in the internationalisation of different types of intuitions would contribute to an understanding of the place of these institutions in internal (national) and international circuits of mobility.

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attention to the ways in which institutions negotiate the tensions between the retention and circulation of academics within the English, UK and international labour market.

A final and timely possibility which was suggested by this thesis is an evaluation of the impact of the recent and ongoing changes to the UK's immigration and visa regime. In particular, an engagement with both institutional human resources professionals and mobile (and potentially mobile) academics would provide an important insight into the anticipated and unanticipated outcomes of national policy in the UK's higher education labour market.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Methodology: questions, data collection strategies, justifications and issues.

Question Set	Research Questions	Data Sources	Justification	Practicalities	Ethical Issues
How do non-UK citizen academics in the English HE system practice mobility (internationally and inter-institutionally)?	How (when and under what circumstances) do they enter the UK HE system?	HESA data, Interviews.	HESA data can indicate previous employment by location and age of academics. Interviews can elicit mobility incidents across the life course.	Cost of purchase of HESA data set. Sampling, access and organisation of interviews.	HESA data: no significant ethical issues – this is a secondary data set. Interviews: anonymity and potential for raising sensitive issues.
	How and to what extent do they move within the English HE system?	HESA data, Interviews.	HESA can give some indication of previous employment within the UK; interviews can elicit this information.	See above.	See above.
	How are non-UK academics distributed across disciplines, institutions and regions in England?	HESA data.	HESA collects comprehensive information on these themes.	See above.	See above.

How do non-UK citizen academics in the English HE system experience mobility?	Why do they enter the English HE system? What are the incentives and/or obstacles?	Interviews.	Interviews explore the personal experiences and practices in the context of life and career courses.	See above.	See above.
	What are the impacts of international mobility on the careers of non-UK academics?	Interviews.	Interviews explore the personal experiences and practices in the context of life and career courses.	See above.	See above.
	What are the non-professional considerations that shape, constrain, enable or incentivise mobility?	Interviews.	Interviews explore the personal experiences and practices in the context of life and career courses.	See above.	See above.
	How do they engage with internationalization and mobility more broadly (in their institutions, their careers and their personal lives?	Interviews.	Interviews explore the personal experiences and practices in the context of life and career courses.	See above.	See above.

What can these practices and experiences tell us about the English sector (and specific locations and institutions) in an international context?	Where do they come from (geographically)?	HESA data, interviews.	HESA collects comprehensive information on these themes.	See above.	See above.
	What is the significance of places of origin and destination in their mobility?	Interviews.	Interviews explore the personal experiences and practices in the context of life and career courses.	See above.	See above.
	What is their profile by age, gender and nationality?	HESA data.	HESA collects comprehensive information on these themes.	See above.	See above.

Appendix 2: Extended interview frame

A. Biographical / professional / interview data (confirm/supplement CV)

1. name of interviewee
2. gender
3. time of interview
4. place of interview
5. interviewee's date of birth
6. interviewee's country of birth/nationality(ies)
7. languages spoken/studied/used regularly
8. interviewee's relationship status (single/partnered)
9. interviewee's dependents (children/parents/other)
10. interviewee's position/job title
11. length of time in current post
12. length of time at current institution
13. interviewee's school/faculty
14. interviewee's contract type
15. interviewee's career stage (subjective assessment)

B. General work-related questions

16. Can interviewee summarise career activities since award of most recent/highest degree?
17. Has interviewee chosen a particular place for life/work? If so, why?
18. What are interviewee's main research interests/focus of work (current and across career)?
19. To what extent and in what ways can interviewee's field be considered 'global'?
    a. Is it a globally distributed field?
    b. Where are the other centres of activity/'excellence'?
    c. Are there centres of excellence clustered in any particular area?
    d. Is Liverpool considered a key centre in the field?
    e. Does interviewee actively seek out and take part in cross-national collaborations? If so, have they been/are they ongoing? For how long?

C. Educational background

20. Where was interviewee's tertiary education undertaken (UG/PG/PhD)? Why was place X chosen?
21. TWE was interviewee's tertiary education 'international'? TWE did it involve mobility more generally?
    a. locations
    b. lecturers
    c. supervisors
    d. peers

e. conferences
f. field work
g. study visits
h. other

22. Did the international aspects of interviewee's education generate any useful outcomes?
    a. relationships/networks
    b. collaborations
    c. publications
    d. further study/work visits
    e. other
23. Does the interviewee feel that these visits have retained any enduring real or potential benefits?

D. Work (explicitly international dimensions)

24. What kind of international activity has featured in interviewee's career?
    a. conferences
    b. fieldwork
    c. research/study visits
    d. other
25. What has driven this dimension (rationales)?
    a. need to gather data (field work)
    b. access to infrastructure
    c. access to 'brains' – field leaders
    d. need to disseminate work
    e. need to establish and maintain relationships
    f. other
26. What has enabled this dimension?
    a. relationships
    b. funding/sponsoring organisations
    c. 'cold calling'
    d. other (e.g. reputation of home institution)
27. What outcomes have there been?
    a. collaborations
    b. relationships/networks
    c. publications
    d. keeping up to date with developments in the field
    e. other (perhaps less quantifiable, or potential)
28. Have these patterns of international activity been consistent across career?
    a. Have there been/are there any ongoing collaborations? How long have they been going on for? Who tends to travel?
    b. Does seniority mitigate need for mobility, for example, because a professor has accumulated enough of the right types of capital to mean others seek him/her out?

c. Do the types of activity change, e.g. fewer long-term stays and more frequent conferences?

29. What types of international activity characterise the interviewee's current position?
    a. What types of outcome are expected/hoped for/important at this stage of interviewee's career?)
    b. TWE are there incentives such as funding to encourage international activity?
30. What factors do and have limited the types and frequency of international activity undertaken?
    a. work factors
    b. personal factors
31. How open is the interviewee to future international mobility? What types might be welcomed or particularly unwelcome?

E. The 'hidden' international dimensions of work

32. How 'international' is your workplace?
    a. colleagues
        i. nationalities
        ii. ethnicity
    b. students
33. Do colleagues/peers have international relationships which are/have been/could be useful?
34. Does interviewee (or colleagues) supervise/teach international students?
    a. What patterns of nationality are there?
    b. What explains these patterns?
    c. Do international students generate useful outputs (short/medium/long term)?
        i. collaborations
        ii. co-publications
        iii. relationships with particular institutions overseas?
35. Does 'international activity' necessarily involve cross-border travel?
    a. How important is England in interviewee's field? (E.g. Oxbridge, Imperial, UCL in global rankings and as 'magnets'.)
    b. Does interviewee attend conferences in England?
        i. Are these considered to be 'international'?
        ii. Can they generate international activity?

F: Final questions

36. Is the international dimension of interviewee's work desired for non work-related reasons?
    a. adventure etc
    b. practice/learning language
    c. cultural interest
    d. maintaining personal links to particular place

37. Is the international dimension of interviewee's work important to career
    a. because the field is international and international activity is taken for granted
    b. because an international profile (whatever that means) is desirable and valorised at different levels (institutional, labour market etc. – a box to be ticked?
38. Having reflected in this interview on the forms that internationalisation might take, can the interviewee:
    a. briefly sum up her/his understanding of the term?
    b. relate this term to the ways in which universities/research councils etc. define internationalisation?
    c. and comment on how she/he would match her/his own career against these understandings?

Appendix 3a: Internationalisation at Daleside University

The key features of internationalisation at Daleside University are:

- There are clear strategic directions for the integration of institutional strategies, including internationalisation.
- Although the university is in the early stages of developing an international strategy, it is in some ways a leader within the sector in terms of innovative international activity.
- There is limited reference to staffing and the role of international recruitment, but a clear perception of an international, borderless labour market of the very best talent.
- There is a prominent market- and business-oriented rhetorical style throughout, particularly with regard to internationalisation, including extensive use of terms such as globalisation, competition, talent and so on.
- There is a focus on connections and networks on a global scale, particularly in terms of collaborations (research and exchange) and student markets.
- There is a focus on building reputational capital (raising the institutions' position in league tables and rankings).

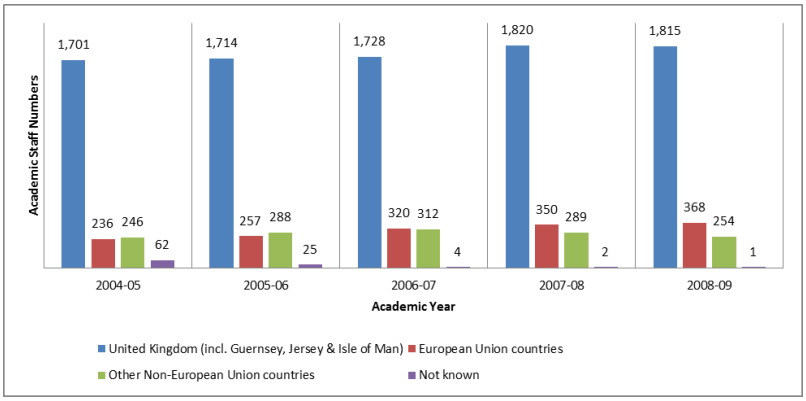
Daleside University is a 'Civic' university situated in the north of England, and founded towards the end of the 19th century. It is a member of the Russell Group of larger research-oriented institutions, though it is one of the smaller universities in this group. It does reasonably well, given its size, in national rankings; in the year this research took place the university was in the top 50 institutions in the Guardian's 2011 rankings of UK universities, the Independent/Complete University Guide (2011), and the Sunday Times university guide. It was also in the top 200 internationally according to THES/Thompson Reuters (2010) and the QS World Rankings (2010). The university clearly has considerable reputational prestige at both national and international level and there has been continuity of purpose amongst the leadership to capitalise on this, in particular in building the institution's international character and profile. Daleside University has a broad suite of internationalising activities which, significantly, include some innovative off-shore and internationally collaborative models of course delivery which point to an entrepreneurial and business-focussed approach to internationalisation.

International Staff

The total number of academic staff for the academic year 2008-09 was 2,437 (see Figure 39), down slightly from the previous year but not necessarily representing a major break from the general

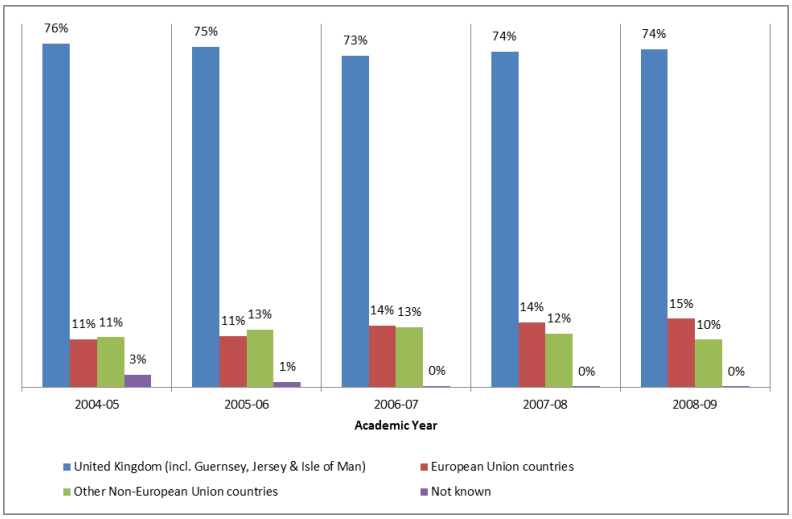
upward trend in academic staff numbers of the past five years, and below the Russell Group average.

Figure 39. Daleside University: academic staff numbers 2004-05 to 2008-09 by nationality marker



Approximately 25% of the academic staff holds non-UK citizenship, and of these the split between EU and non-EU is around 15% to 10% of the total respectively see Figure 40). Whilst these proportions have fluctuated slightly over the last five years there is a small but noticeable increase in EU staff and a corresponding decline in non-EU staff. Again comparing with the Russell Group averages, the university has both a smaller number and a smaller proportion of non-UK citizen staff with a three-quarters to one-quarter split compared with 63% to 35% for the English Russell Group institutions as a whole for the 2008-09 academic year.

Figure 40. Daleside University: Proportion of Academic Staff by Nationality Marker 2004-05 to 2008-09



Documentary Analysis

At the beginning of 2011 a number of strategy documents, available through the university's website, were examined for reference to internationalisation and academic staffing and recruitment. These documents included the institution's current Strategic, Operating, Human Resources, Partnerships, and Academic strategies (as well as policies relating to quality in teaching and

learning); the most recent available Annual Report; and other relevant documents such as the university's response to the 2008 RAE, a draft of the Internationalisation Strategy document, and QAA reports for 2004 and 2009. An orientation interview was also conducted with Daleside's pro-vice chancellor for internationalisation.

Analysis reveals a clear will on the part of the university's leadership to review and recast the university's strategic directions, particularly with reference to a competitive external environment of student markets, research and funding. This is very much seen to be a question of not just national but also global positioning in numerous ways. In order that the university might achieve its aims, a far reaching programme of restructuring is planned both to engage with the external environment and to ensure coherence across strategy themes internally. There is a strongly rhetorical feel to the documents, and extensive deployment of business terms in mapping out general strategic aims. For that reason at this early stage it seems rather aspirational; as positioning the university as entrepreneurial or enterprising rather than articulating in detail the steps that will be taken. The new strategic directions are also an exercise in branding and identity construction, with Daleside asserting itself as both an elite university and as an underdog; particularly it will strive to 'punch above its weight' in global research and reputation. A point to note, however, is that these rhetorical flourishes are fewer in the documents less designed for an external audience, or which perhaps have had more input from staff, for example the Academic Strategy.

Internationalisation of Daleside University takes a prominent position in many of the documents. It is a key strategic aim in itself and constitutes an important dimension to several of the other aims. The university is in the process of developing institution-wide, integrated strategies which address a number of internationally-oriented/internationalising themes, which themselves are clarified in the upcoming Internationalisation Strategy (in draft form at the time of writing): building a global brand in a competitive international market; internationalising research; internationalising teaching, learning and the student experience; and competing internationally for talent.

The market dimension to the university's internationalisation strategy is starkly evident in its references to globalisation and competition. The external environment is clearly perceived to be borderless and therefore it is on this scale that the university must compete for funding, staff and students. Daleside University's competitors in the increasingly global field of higher education are institutions in the Russell Group of similar size and resources, and other internationally prominent institutions. Against these institutions the university will benchmark itself, for example in terms of research income and international student numbers. Importantly, in portraying itself as an underdog, at least in terms of its size, the university is operationalising a sense of external threat and survival.

One way the university is planning to raise its international profile is through pursuing a higher position in league tables. The draft Internationalisation Strategy explicitly references Daleside's position in international league tables as a measure of performance. In addition, the institution will pursue the strategic development of collaborations which will not only enhance the university's brand, but also add value and secure stable feeder routes from international student markets. However, whilst on one level the global scale is a powerful rhetorical tool, there is a more specific and strategic focus on key countries and regions (Europe and the BRIC countries, for example) as student markets and sources of collaboration. Moreover, the overall strategy is to localise these connections and make them relevant to the city of Daleside more broadly.

Turning to the internationalisation of the university's research agendas, it is clear that the various institutional strategies are synergetic. Research is linked to reputation, income and teaching (through the policy of research-led teaching), and key academic objective number of the Academic Strategy. It is also a Strategy Performance measure in the draft International Strategy, which articulates the aim to double research income from overseas sources. These directions are given shape by two further ambitions: the first is to focus on the 'Global Grand Challenges', that is, the big questions which will reap the greatest reputational rewards; the second is to focus on strategically important developing research regions and countries, such as India and China, with which to build collaborations.

The university approaches internationalisation of teaching and learning in two ways: recruiting international students in an international education market; and providing an international experience for students in general. Again, there are clear cross-references to other strategic priorities such as a focus on particular countries and regions. The university recognises international students as an important indicator of a world-class university whose fees underpin the strategic plan, although the focus is not strictly on non-EU fee-payers but non-UK students more generally, so the financial dimension should not be overstated. Nevertheless, there is concern over low international student numbers relative to the rest of the Russell Group. One of the performance measures of the draft International Strategy is to raise number of international students to 24%. The university has therefore articulated the need to develop supply chains from sending countries and institutions, and to track developments in student mobility patterns in order to more accurately target marketing and recruitment strategies.

The university has conceived of an ideal 'Daleside Graduate' well acquainted with the demands of global citizenship and the requirements, such as inter-cultural competencies, of the global labour market. This will be achieved through research-led teaching, the internationalisation of the campus, and through making programmes relevant at home and overseas. These goals are perhaps less well

developed than other elements of the internationalisation strategy and hint of an assumption that there are quantitative indicators of internationalisation – incorporation of cutting edge research into the curriculum or increasing the number of foreign faces on campus – which will somehow lead to the development of the desired competencies.

The university sees competition for staff and student talent as 'tough' and global. In addition to issues of recruitment, the documents make numerous mentions of staff secondments and exchanges, to be achieved through increasing work with international collaborators. In fact, it is another performance measure of the International Strategy that the number of staff on overseas exchanges should be doubled. Interestingly, there are few specific references to international staff and their recruitment, in spite of multiple references to the 'global catchment' from which the university recruits. Looking across strategies, however, references to reputation, research collaboration, induction of non-citizen staff, immigration regulations, and benchmarking the number and diversity of international staff against competitors point to an overarching approach to international recruitment.

Conclusion

Daleside University has begun the process of formulating an internationalisation strategy which will build on its long-standing international activities and high international profile. The internationalisation strategy is, furthermore, one part of a broader suite of strategic documents outlining the roles and directions the university sees for itself in the changing and increasingly international higher education sector. The documents speak of an elite, ambitious and business-minded approach to internationalisation, and one which accepts the realities and discourses of the current changing, globalising, market-focused context with its funding constraints and opportunities. There is mention, as might be expected of a global competition for academic talent, but perhaps what is most interesting about this analysis is that it reveals so little formalisation in policy of the role of non-UK staff when they constitute such a large proportion of the total.

Appendix 3b: Internationalisation at Peakside University

The key features of internationalisation at Peakside University are:

- Peakside University has a strong commitment to embedding an international dimension in all its activities.
- The university has explicitly articulated internationalising agendas and is currently midway through the course of its second internationalisation strategy.
- A teaching and learning, or curriculum, focused model of internationalisation rather than one that relies on participation in cross-border research activities.
- A central role for academic staff in the internationalisation process, though no explicit or distinct role for non-citizen mobile academic staff.
- Overall, a transformative internationalisation designed to enhance the employability of students for a global knowledge workplace, and to contribute to the human resources of the wider Peakside city-region.

Located in the north of England, Peakside University is one of the UK's newer universities, having gained its status in 1992 through the amalgamation of a number of institutions which date back as far as the 1970s (Peakside Polytechnic) and early 19th century (Peakside Mechanics Institute). It is a member of the Million+ group of teaching-focused universities, and is placed towards the bottom of the Guardian's 2011 rankings of UK universities, the Independent/Complete University Guide (2010-11), and the Sunday Times university guide. These rankings come following a period of instability at management level, which undoubtedly have reinforced Peakside's former polytechnic status.

Nevertheless, it is an institution which appears to have a clear vision of its future, which it has been working towards for some time. Its mission statement, for example, combines a commitment to both its city-region and also to bringing a global perspective to its activities. A strong feature of its institutional identity its internationalisation strategy, which it has placed at the centre of its work, to the extent that it has mainstreamed it throughout all its work, established a central office to coordinate these activities, and promoted itself as a model of best practice. Peakside's internationalisation is a teaching and learning, or curriculum, model. It aims to exploit the value of international and cross-cultural perspectives to the benefit of all students, particularly insofar as it offers them the opportunity to engage with the global knowledge economy.

International staff

The number of non-UK citizen staff at Peakside University puts it somewhere in the middle of all English institutions and in the top half of the English Million+ institutions. However, due to the large

total number of staff, those with non-UK citizenship account for just under 12% of the total (see Figures 41 and 42) that is 187 of 1596 staff (100 EU and 87 TCNs).

Figure 41. Peakside University: academic staff numbers 2004-05 to 2008-09 by nationality marker

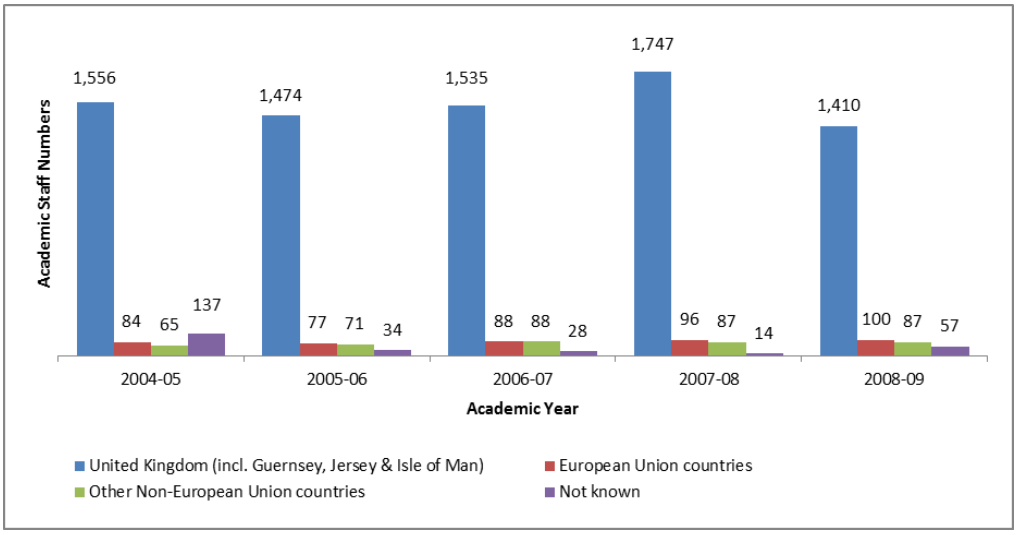
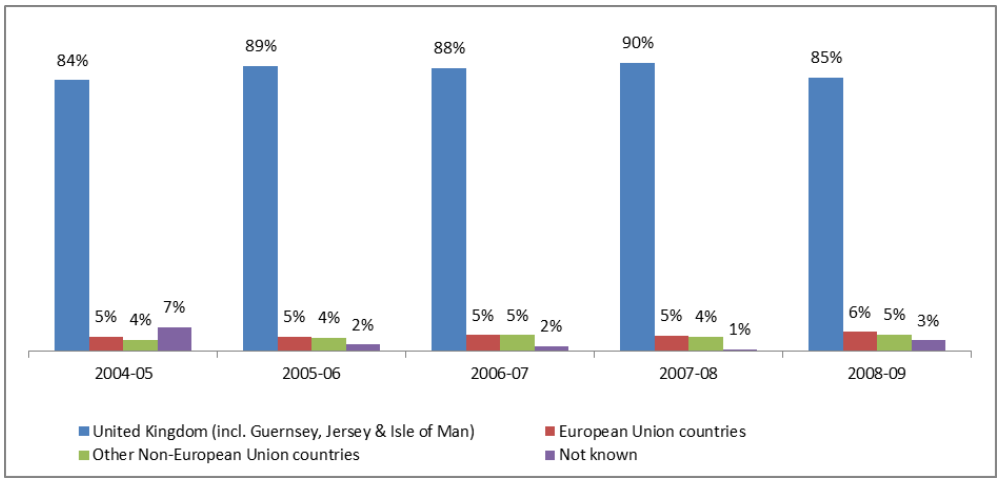


Figure 42. Peakside University: Proportion of Academic Staff by Nationality Marker 2004-05 to 2008-09



Documentary analysis

At the beginning of 2011 a review was made of a large number of strategy and policy documents available on the Peakside University website. These documents included mission, values and vision statements; a Planning Framework discussion document; two international strategies, guidelines for incorporating internationalisation (cross-cultural competencies and global perspectives) into the curriculum; the Human Resources Strategy, a priorities document, operational plan, a Workforce Profile Analysis, and a Recruitment Monitoring Report; and Research Strategy. In addition the QAA makes available two reports on Peakside University, and Peakside's vice-chancellor for internationalisation has published a number of articles and reports on the university's experiences of

internationalisation. An interview was conducted with the head of internationalisation, which informed the study.

Peakside University asserts its commitment to an 'ethos' of internationalisation in several places. More than this, it has devised its own definition of internationalisation as 'a process through which institutions seek to provide an education (and an environment) for all students which is appropriate to their needs as citizens in an increasingly interdependent/globalising world.' This ethos should, it states, be evident 'throughout its entire operation' including, importantly for this study, staffing. Internationalisation at Peakside University, then, is intended to permeate the entire institution and all its activities. Unique amongst UK institutions, Peakside University has been awarded an 'Honourable Mention' for its efforts at campus internationalisation by the US international education body the Institute of International Education.

Across the documents analysed there was evidence of an internationalisation agenda which reflects this commitment to a student focused, teaching and curriculum approach (as opposed to a research focused approach). Importantly, academic staff play a key role in meeting internationalisation goals, clearly understood in terms of a pedagogical process of cross-cultural competencies and global awareness. Peakside even appoints International Teaching fellows to promote and facilitate the international orientation of staff and curricula, whilst formal staff development and opportunities for mixing and sharing experiences encouraged.

However, given both the centrality of internationalisation, and of academics, there is surprisingly little mention of non-citizen recruitment or staffing. Rather it is international experience which is particularly valued as evidence of an individual's potential to act as an agent of intercultural and international learning. Particular attention is also given to staff mobility, though largely short-term exchanges and visiting international scholars, and strategies to capitalise on these experiences and apply them to teaching and learning.

A 2008 report on the first cycle of Peakside's internationalisation strategy suggested that success was based on a coherent, embedded and transformational ethos of internationalisation at all levels of the institutional, staff and student activities. Seeing internationalisation in terms only of the recruitment of students is short-sighted unless it is part of an integrated set of strategies designed to give overall direction to the university. Peakside University, it argued, views all international experience – staff, home student and international student – as a valuable source of skills and knowledge which can be utilised to adapt curricula, prepare students for a global workforce, and establish sustainable and ethical practice in university operations and off-shore collaborations. It therefore seeks to make visible these skills and experiences as a resource.

Conclusion

Peakside University has a coherent and clearly articulated idea of how it understands and wishes to implement internationalisation. This is given direction by mission statements, given shape by integrated strategic documents, and energised through seeking 'buy in' from staff at all levels of the institution. It is very much a student-oriented internationalisation, with the ultimate goal of transforming teaching and curricula, staff and students and, ultimately, the university itself. For example, the valorisation of 'research-led teaching' has been reversed and has become, for Peakside University, 'teaching-led research'. Internationalisation is also strongly informed by considerations of ethics and sustainability and it does not amount solely to the recruitment of fee-paying international students – this dimension is, in fact, played down in policy documents and public statements.

A further dimension to the ways in which internationalisation is practiced at Peakside University is that there is a strong sense of the development of a distinct brand. Peakside University clearly sees itself as a field leader and there is certainly evidence to support this perception. This clear sense of identity and purpose will undoubtedly be a competitive advantage as the sector changes and responds to financial cuts and constraints.

Importantly, however, Peakside University makes almost no mention of international staff, their role or their recruitment. International staff are not identified as contributing anything unique to the strategies, nor are they cited as an indicator of excellence or quality in any way. For such a single-mindedly internationalising institution this would seem an odd omission; however, it rather points to an important cleavage in the English higher education sector between teaching-focused and researched focused institutions. Research, and particularly internationally recognised and collaborative research, is valued by Peakside University as a source of income and prestige; at the same time, however, simply 'being international' is not something the university seems to valorise or reward. Far more important for staff is practical industry experience and the ability to foster an international culture and outlook more generally, regardless of origin.

Appendix 4: Respondents' biographical profiles

Alias	HEI	Age	Career stage	Field	Gender	Nationality
Ernesto	Peakside	35-39	Mid-Career	Tourism Management	M	**Spanish**
Giulia	Peakside	35-39	Unassigned	Health and Social Sciences	F	**Swiss**
Luca	Peakside	35-39	Early Career	Health and Social Sciences	M	**Italian**
Dimitra	Peakside	35-39	Unassigned	Health and Social Sciences	F	**Greek**
Yiannis	Peakside	35-39	Unassigned	Arts, Environment and Technology	M	**Greek**
Baqer	Peakside	50-54	Unassigned	Health and Social Sciences	M	**Libyan**
Madeline	Daleside	40-44	Mid-Career	Biosciences	F	**USA**
Tano	Daleside	45-49	Mid-Career	Geography	M	**Ghanaian**
Sara	Daleside	30-34	Doctoral Student	History	F	**Italian**
Max	Daleside	40-44	Mid-Career	History	M	**Dutch**
Vadim	Daleside	45-49	Mature Career	Mathematical Sciences	M	**Russian**
Fabian	Daleside	45-49	Mid-Career	History	M	**German**

Alias	HEI	Age	Career stage	Field	Gender	Nationality
Ben	Daleside	50-54	Mature Career	Management/ Business	M	**Irish**
Alex	Daleside	35-39	Early Career	Psychology	M	**USA**
Thomas	Daleside	35-39	Mid-Career	History	M	**French**
Ingrid	Daleside	40-44	Early Career	Biosciences	F	**Danish**
Dominik	Daleside	45-49	Mid-Career	Physics	M	**German**
Robert	Daleside	50-54	Mature Career	History	M	**Australian**
Tanya	Daleside	35-39	Mid-Career	Mathematical Sciences	F	**Russian**
Lucy	Daleside	25-29	Doctoral Student	Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology	F	**Maltese**
Daniel	Daleside	40-44	Mid-Career	Physics	M	**German**
Carlota	Daleside	40-44	Mid-Career	Psychology	F	**Venezuelan**
Harry	Daleside	30-34	Early Career	Electrical Engineering and Electronics	M	**Chinese (PRC)**

Appendix 5: Coding frames and levels

First Coding	Second coding	Third coding	Fourth coding
Memo	Impression		
	Practical information		
Education	International dimensions		
	Pre-tertiary		
	Tertiary		
Personal			
Place and context	Arrivals		
	Attachments to home		
	Departures		
	Earlier mobility episodes		
	Geographies		
	HEI characteristics		
	Moving on		
	Re-embedding - personal		
	Re-embedding - professional		
	Staying on		
Work	Internationalisation	'Immobile' int'n	
		In-job mobility	Barriers to mobility
			Career and life course dimensions
			Destinations
			Duration and timing
			Enabling mobility
			Frequency
			Funding
			ICTs and face-to-face mobility
			Networks and mobility
			Outcomes of mobility
			Purpose of travel
		Job to job career mobility	Implications
	Languages		
	Understanding internationalisation	Attitude to int'n	
		int'n and academic field, work and careers	
		Perceived barriers to and issues with int'n	
		Understanding University Strategy	
		Value of int'n (perceived)	
		wider context of int'n	

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